

NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

REVISED EDITION



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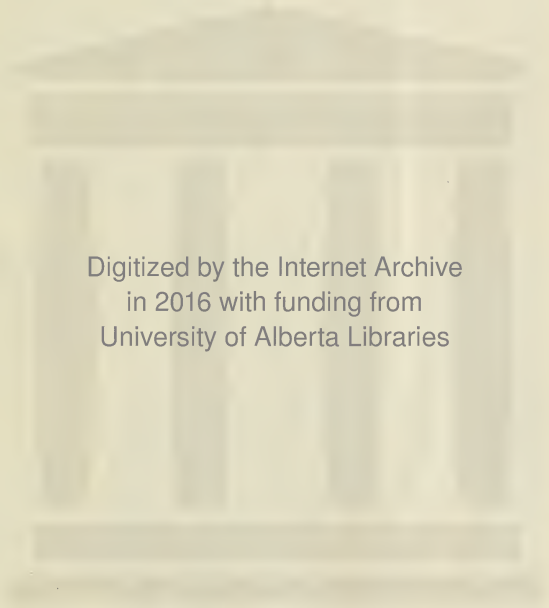
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PARATROOP TRAINING IN ENGLAND

NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

BY

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OREGON STATE COLLEGE

REVISED EDITION

1943

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THE UNITED STATES AT WAR

Notwithstanding the treacherous attack on Pearl Harbor by the Axis aggressors who place force above law, carnage above humanity, and Mars above Christ, we have in this edition tried to balance with our immediate grave problems the basic facts, principles, and ideals that every student should learn.

The United States has entered World War II with even greater justification than it entered and ended World War I. It had withdrawn its marines from the Caribbean islands, had granted Cuba complete independence, was preparing the Philippines for independence on July 4, 1946, and was practicing the Good Neighbor policy towards Latin America. By contrast, Japan has for a decade consistently overrun its innocent neighbors by bloody conquest. Mussolini, not satisfied with his ruthless conquest of Ethiopia, jumped on France when she was down. And Hitler, in violation of the Versailles Treaty, rearmed, fortified his borders, and seized two countries before any nation interfered. Hitler then made himself head of the gang which conspired to seize the riches and to enslave the peoples of the world.

The United States could have joined the gang and could have taken possession of Canada, Mexico, and Central America; but she is not that kind of neighbor. To the Axis Powers our Neutrality Acts were merely softness and lack of virility — a go-ahead sign; an indication that they could take what they wanted so far as the United States was concerned.

Finally, public opinion in the United States demanded aid for the victims of aggression; and Congress passed the Lease-Lend Act. Remember that it was not militarists who passed the Act, and it was not capitalists. The movement was led by peace-loving realists and by idealists who had worked for peace and justice through legal means as long as there was hope from that method. They were still working by conference

and by concession when Japan launched her treacherous attack. The war was on.

The United States is not fighting for territory or other aggrandizement. It is fighting to protect innocent men, women, and children, including ourselves, from enslavement by tyrants. It is fighting for the right of self-government. It is fighting for humane hours of labor and humane treatment of minority races. It is fighting to rescue scientific inventions from the use of destruction to that of abundance. It is fighting for the rights of individuals against tyrants who make fun of the brotherhood idea and rear a generation to believe in the philosophy of force. In brief, it is fighting for faith and fair dealing, to reclaim the world from a state of anarchy to one of law and order. To do this we must win the war — not merely defend ourselves.

To win the war *all* must work — men, women, and children; and we must supply the army and navy with *more* tanks, ships, and planes *than the enemy have*. Men must, for the duration of the war, work longer hours; women must operate tools with more speed than knitting needles; and children must do their bit when not in school. All must cheerfully pay taxes, ever increasing taxes, taxes enough to bring victory. And last, but not least, we must fight for our ideals. The Axis youth are taught to fight for the spoils of victory, or a “co-prosperity sphere” organized for the advantage of the victor. We are fighting for humanity.

At times Americans have been pictured as Shylocks and as dollar diplomats; but in reality we are idealists fighting for the oppressed. During World War I we fought conscientiously to make the world safe for democracy. But after the war we came home and forgot the sacrificed lives buried in Flanders Field. This war is being fought for self-preservation, to rescue the world from anarchy, and to make co-prosperity possible through voluntary, peaceful means.

When we win this war we must not neglect, as we did following World War I, the opportunity to set up an international organization which will permanently prevent greed, hatred, and armaments from menacing the world.

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FOREWORD

Mankind has inherited a bountiful world. Its valleys abound in beautiful flowers, delicious fruits, and wholesome vegetation; and even its waters yield food. Its hills contain strong metals, and coal, and oil. Its hillsides provide waterfalls, its air is rich in nitrogen, and its skies are paths of sunrays. All of these man can harness and produce power to replace drudgery by leisure and culture. Will mankind use this inheritance to produce happiness for all, or will it dissipate these riches in a selfish struggle for possession?

The world was created for a community. No one artificially created national state has enough of all the riches for even its own needs. For instance, when we manufacture improved steels in the United States we are dependent upon foreign countries for all or part of seven of the metals used. Our vast rubber supply must come from other regions. Small overpopulated countries are even more dependent upon us for foods and raw materials. Barriers have been built up artificially which limit trade between nations; monopolies have been developed which make the cost of some natural resources so high that many millions can never enjoy their use; and man has as yet answered the challenge of distribution only with hoarding.

In the evolution from tribal communities to a world community we have reached the stage of national states. The occupants of each state are disposed to hold on to what they have inherited instead of sharing it with the needy of other states. Individuals, too, have maintained the desire to possess the world's bounties for themselves, and though we now have daily passenger air service between continents, most countries with great natural wealth exclude immigrants from the overcrowded countries.

Restrictions have made some nations desperate. Just as individuals who are unable to secure the essentials for life have a tendency to revolt against society, so have immigration restriction and trade barriers caused the "have-not" nations to become desperate and follow military dictators who promise relief through conquest. The dictators arm for conquest and the "have" nations arm to resist; and there is a frenzied race to dominate natural resources. In 1943 world states spent over \$200,000,000,000 for war — enough to build a new \$5000 house for every family in the United States.

War materials are a dissipation of the inheritance of mankind. The misdirection of inventive power from constructive machines to the building of machines for destruction has kept pace with the progress of science. The weapons that were used in the last war are no longer potent enough for use by modern states. New ones must be built to keep pace with the inventions. A battleship is expected to be of utility only about twenty years. Scrapping and rebuilding requires vast quantities of materials that could have been turned into goods that would make man a creature of leisure and luxury.

The greatest world problem is to learn to live together happily with peace and justice. If this can be attained, the world's adequate resources will provide an abundance for all. To accomplish this, both racial and national prejudices must be overcome through an understanding of the other fellows' points of view. Countries must be willing to co-operate.

We can have an economic world community. World communication and transportation have made economic unity possible; but if the world is governed by apemen, it will still be a jungle. This book aims to create an attitude favorable to those who work for happiness and peace with justice for all. This means that there should be an international organization strong enough to enforce a world code of justice. (See Chapter XXXV.)

NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS
AND
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

CHAPTER I

HOW THE UNITED STATES CONDUCTS HER FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Importance of the Department of State. — In 1942 the world spent more than \$200,000,000,000 on armaments, and everybody is wondering whether Mars or the Prince of Peace will in the future settle our grave international problems. Our Department of State, which is our Foreign Office,¹ is maintained to investigate the best way to settle our international problems peacefully without sacrificing our just rights. It believes in settling disputes by justice rather than by force.

But when the Japanese party favoring conquest by military force gained control of the government; when Mussolini said that relationships between states are relationships of force; when Joseph Goebbels, Hitler's Minister of Propaganda, said, "Forget such terms as humanitarianism, civilization, international rights, and international confidence"; and when the dictators taught their youth the philosophy of selfishness, hate, and force instead of love and justice; then the United States had to fight fire with fire, had to fight the devil with his own weapons.

The Secretary of State is appointed by the President with consent of the Senate, which is seldom refused; but he may be dismissed by the President without obtaining the consent of the

¹ The domestic duties of the Department of State are:

1. To keep the seal of the United States.
2. To publish the laws of the United States.
3. To proclaim amendments to the Constitution when ratified by the States.
4. To receive from each state a list of presidential electors and votes.
5. To correspond with state governors.

Senate. Because undiplomatic handling of foreign affairs is likely to lead to the loss of American rights on the one hand or to war on the other, the Secretary of State is considered the



Courtesy The Louisville Courier-Journal

SHALL THE WORLD WORSHIP CHRIST
OR MARS?

most important member of the Cabinet. Some presidents entrust foreign affairs largely to the Secretary of State, while others take them into their own hands. Secretary Hay used to tell his friends that often President McKinley did not send for him once a month on business, but that he saw President Roosevelt every day. Under Theodore Roosevelt the Secretary still conducted the negotiations, but the origination and decision of policy rested more and more with the President. Wilson fol-

lowed the Roosevelt practice; President Harding entrusted foreign affairs largely to Secretary Hughes; while Presidents Hoover and Franklin Roosevelt took a middle course.

Now that we are a world power, the duties of the Secretary of State are enormous. Aside from responsibility for the thousand and one regular problems of our foreign relations, a Secretary of State watches propaganda of dictators and meets it with counter propaganda, because an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure. For instance, to prevent Nazi revolutions in Latin America our broadcasts in Spanish were increased, American control of their airways was encouraged, we lent money to Latin American governments to stabilize their currency and to build factories and roads, and the Secretary of State disapproved of defense priorities interfering with Latin-American needs.

Organization of the Department of State 3

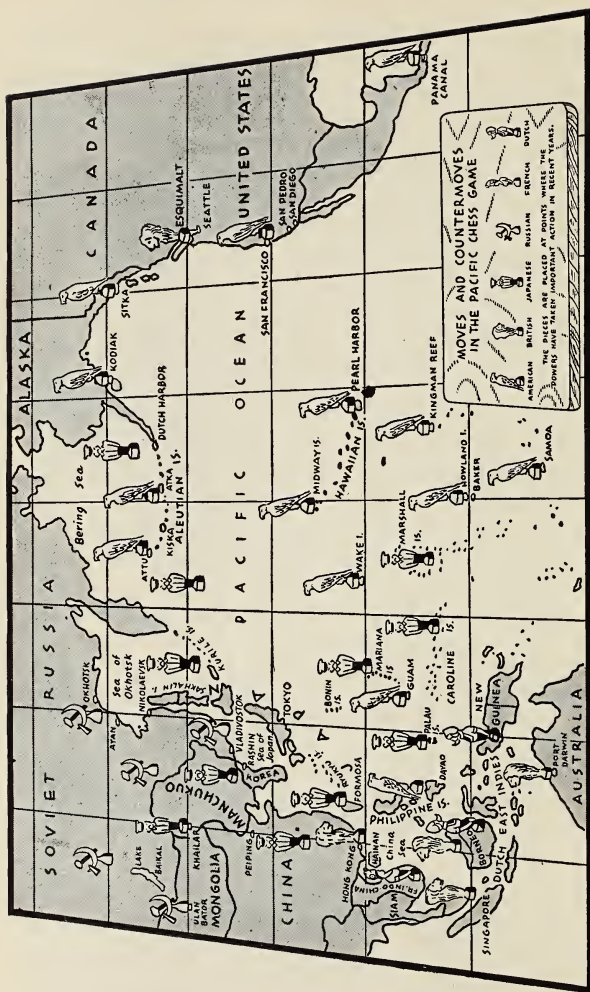
Organization of the Department of State. — The principal officers of the Department of State are appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. The President naturally gives great consideration to the recommendations of the Secretary of State in making these appointments.

The Undersecretary of State is charged with the general direction of the work of the department and acts for the Secretary of State in his absence. Thus in 1938, when Secretary of State Hull was attending the Pan-American Conference at Lima, Secretary of the Interior Ickes declared in a public speech that Germany's persecution of Jews carried that nation back to a "period of history when man was unlettered, benighted and bestial." The German government asked our Government for an apology for what it considered an international insult by a member of our Government. Undersecretary of State Welles replied orally to the German Chargé d'Affaires without the kid-glove verbiage of diplomacy. He said that recent policy of the Reich had shocked American public opinion more profoundly than anything for many decades and that indignation as expressed by Secretary Ickes represented the feeling of the overwhelming majority of the people of this country.

The Counselor of the Department of State aids in the formulation and execution of the foreign policies of the Government and the reception of representatives of foreign governments. In the absence of the Secretary of State and the Undersecretary of State he becomes Acting Secretary of State.

Assistant Secretaries of State and a Legal Advisor rank next.¹ The organization of the Department of State is so complete that when the Secretary of State comes to his desk everything is ready for prompt action. Many problems have been solved

¹ The term "shirt sleeve" was once applied to American diplomats by Europeans because Americans paid so little attention to ceremonial niceties. For example, in communications to dignitaries we were not careful to address them with their various titles and decorations. A few years ago, however, the Department added to its staff an Officer in Charge of Ceremonials, who deals with matters relating to the entertainment and protection of distinguished foreign visitors, to arrangements for ceremonials of a national or international character, and to questions relating to precedence in the



Courtesy New York Times

Between December 7, 1941 (Pearl Harbor) and July 4, 1942, Japan occupied Hong Kong, French Indo-China, Siam (Thailand), Burma, Dutch East Indies, Philippines, Guam, Wake; and landed on Kiska and Atka of the Aleutian Islands.

by efficient assistants, and the documents merely await his signature. It is simply a matter of minutes between the click of the telegraph key in some distant consulate and the whir of the wheels in the Department of State. There are men in the Department who know in detail the territory and leading personages wherever trouble arises.

Geographic Divisions. — Our foreign service is administered through the four following divisions: American Republics, European Affairs, Near Eastern Affairs, and Far Eastern Affairs. For instance, the Division of Far Eastern Affairs is staffed by more than a dozen Foreign Service officers, experts on Far Eastern problems who have served for long periods in China or Japan. The chief of the division started his diplomatic duties as student interpreter in Peiping. The man who has the final word in the State Department on Pacific problems is Stanley K. Hornbeck, chief of the division from 1928 to 1937 and since then adviser to Secretary Hull on Far Eastern Affairs. These Foreign Service experts are usually asked to voice their views before the Administration makes a decision on our policy in the Orient.

In November, 1941, lights burned late on the State Department's third floor as the drama of Japanese-American relations seemed to be approaching its denouement. Japan had violated two treaties with us, and the Covenant of the League of Nations, when she took Manchukuo. Then she waged war against China, seized French Indo-China, and had sent the Kurusu Mission to Washington to learn how much aggression we would permit without war.

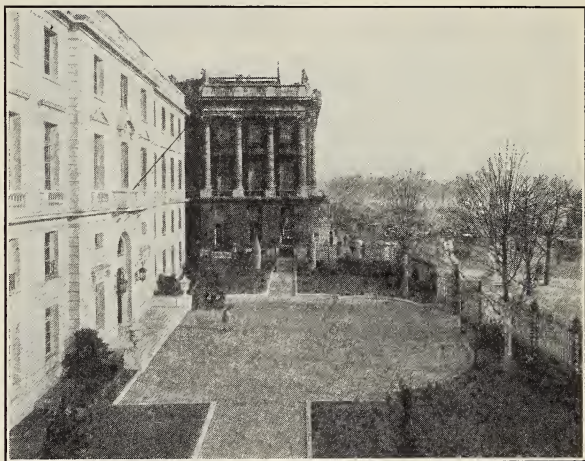
The Foreign Service. — *Reorganization.* — In 1924 the foreign service of the United States was reorganized by Act of Congress. Previous to this reorganization, a young man who entered this service had little hope of rising to the highest positions. These were filled by political appointees. Those in the service did not even have a pension to look forward to as a consolation for their

White House and the Department. For example, it saves embarrassment to observe the recognized precedence at social functions and to know that one should not be seated as long as the President stands, or leave a function before the President leaves.

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permanent subordination. Now a young man seeking a career can enter the service with reasonable hope of rising to the top, and with a pension awaiting him at the end of his public service.

The diplomatic and consular services of the United States are now known as the Foreign Service. Commissioned officers in this service below the grade of minister are known as Foreign



AMERICAN GOVERNMENT OFFICE BUILDING, PARIS

More than a dozen government agencies were housed here before the War.

Service Career Officers. These officers are not appointed to any particular post. Therefore, the President may freely transfer officers to the diplomatic branch, to the consular branch, or to the State Department. The chances of a career officer becoming a minister or even an ambassador have greatly increased. The Secretary of State furnishes the President with the names of Foreign Service Career Officers who have demonstrated a capacity for promotion to the grade of Minister. Now half of our Ambassadors and Ministers have risen through a career in the Foreign Service.

This opportunity for promotion insures better men all the

way down the line: a better Vice-Consul at Monrovia and a better Second Secretary of Legation at Helsinki. The young man who goes out to swelter in the quags of a little banana republic or freeze on the tundras of the Arctic Circle goes with hope in his heart. He knows that good service will bring him back to Washington for a year, or two, or three, or four, and that in that time he may be qualified to be placed at the head of any mission, even at the Court of St. James.

Classification. — We have about 700 foreign service officers known as Foreign Service Career Officers. Above them are ambassadors and ministers and below them are nearly 1000 foreign clerks. Ambassadors, ministers, and clerks can be appointed without an examination and are therefore still considered political appointees. With minor exceptions, Foreign Service Career Officers are appointed on a competitive basis.

The Career Officers enter the service as unclassified officers at an annual salary of \$2500 a year plus allowances for travel, rent, etc., and can advance to \$3400. Then as classified officers they can work up through eight classes from a salary of \$3500 to a salary of \$10,000.

Entering the Service. — The usual way to enter the Career Foreign Service is through competitive examinations.¹ An annual three-day written examination is given in about a dozen designated cities. This examination covers general knowledge and ability as well as subjects especially needed in the service.² Those who pass this written examination are asked to come to Washington, at their own expense, for an oral examination for personality and adaptability. Finally the applicant must pass

¹ It is also possible to enter the Career Foreign Service by transfer from the Department of State after at least five years' continuous service in an executive or quasi-executive position, or by transfer from the clerical branch of the Foreign Service after five years of satisfactory work and the passing of an oral examination.

² Subjects especially needed in the service include international, maritime, and commercial law; political and commercial geography; arithmetic; modern languages (at least one foreign language); natural, industrial, and commercial resources, and commerce of the United States; political economy; American history, government, and institutions; and the modern history of Europe, South America, and the Far East.

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a physical examination. Those passing these three examinations are usually not more than 5 per cent of those examined. These few are placed upon the eligible list; and as vacancies occur their names are drawn from the eligible list in the order of their examination marks.¹

Compensation and Promotions. — Foreign Service Career Officers enter the service on a salary of \$2500, plus certain allowances, and may be promoted to a maximum salary of \$10,000. The Foreign Service Personnel Board examines Foreign Service officers for the Secretary of State efficiency records, and recommends to him persons for promotion, including those with capacity for the grade of Minister. It also recommends those for transfer, those for discipline, and those for dismissal.

Marriage to Foreigners Forbidden. — Applicants for the written examination to the Career Foreign Service must be between 21 and 35 years of age; and because of the exacting requirements, most young men have not had the time or money to marry. When they get a foreign appointment and a good salary, they naturally marry where they are. In 1936 an Executive Order was issued forbidding the marriage of a Foreign Service Career Officer to one of foreign nationality without the consent of the Secretary of State. We don't want too much foreign influence.

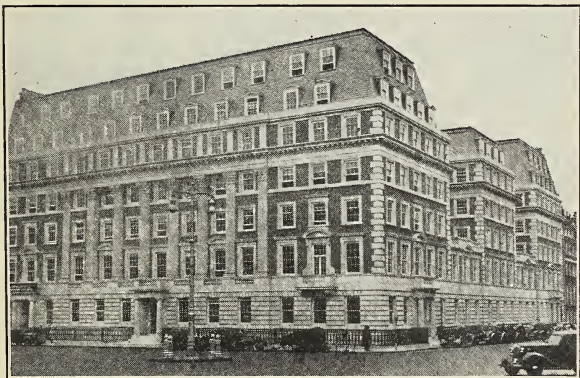
Pensions. — The Treasury Department deducts 5 per cent of the salaries of Foreign Service officers for a retirement fund. The amount of the retirement allowance depends upon the length of service and ranges as high as 60 per cent of one's salary. Total disability entitles one to the pension provided it was not caused by intemperance or other misconduct; in case of death the heirs receive the amount paid in with interest; and if one leaves the service he likewise receives the amount contributed with interest. A minister or ambassador who has been promoted from the classified Foreign Service is entitled to the above benefits.

Diplomatic Branch of the Foreign Service. — Diplomatic correspondence with foreign governments is conducted by the

¹ Names are dropped from the eligible list at the end of two years.

Diplomatic Branch of the Foreign Service 9

State Department through diplomatic representatives whom we send to the governments of about fifty independent states. We send ambassadors to the more important countries and ministers¹ to others. Commissioners for special purposes, such as drafting treaties, are from time to time sent abroad. In the absence of the permanent diplomatic representative, the counselor, the first secretary, or some other person takes charge temporarily, and is known as the *chargé d'affaires ad interim*.



AMERICAN EMBASSY, GROSVENOR SQUARE, LONDON

Ambassadors, appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate, are sent to such countries as Congress designates.² The term of office is not prescribed by law, but it is customary for an ambassador to resign when a new president is elected. When a new party comes into office these resignations are usually accepted, but when the same party elects another president some of the ambassadors are generally requested to continue. Now that Foreign Service officers are often appointed to diplomatic posts, it is believed that presidents will retain them.

¹ The official title is "envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary."

² We send ambassadors to Great Britain, Spain, Russia, Turkey, China, Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Peru, Mexico, Cuba, Colombia, Venezuela, Panama, Bolivia, Ecuador, Uruguay, Paraguay, and to exile governments in London.

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However, in the more important diplomatic posts, such as the one in London, it is likely that ambassadors will continue to be taken from private life as political appointees. There are no prescribed qualifications, but the government to whom the ambassador is to be accredited is consulted before appointment and it may refuse to receive in a diplomatic way any person who is for any reason objectionable — *persona non grata*.

Any country may demand the recall of an ambassador who has made himself obnoxious to its government, and in extreme cases may dismiss him. For example, in 1917, Count von Bernstorff, the German Ambassador, was handed his passport by an Assistant Secretary of State, under the direction of the President, before we declared war against Germany.

The duties of an ambassador are :

(1) To transmit official communications. If upon examination the ambassador finds anything inexpedient in a communication in light of his acquaintanceship with the men on the ground, he should notify his Government and urge that the note be revised.

(2) To negotiate treaties and other agreements if requested to do so by the President.

(3) To give information to foreigners concerning American institutions, laws, and customs.

(4) To defend his Government's policy. When the 1924 immigration exclusion act offended Japan, our ambassador to Japan did not feel that he could defend it, so he resigned. Our minister to China did defend it. He explained that the human race probably originated in Western Asia; that some people migrated as far east as possible, to the Orient; and that others through many centuries migrated west across Europe, then across the Atlantic, and then across North America to California. Because of their long separation the people naturally differ in customs, and therefore do not readily mix. The law does not imply the superiority of either — merely a difference.

(5) To protect American citizens and their interests. He insists upon justice in the courts, keeps the channels of trade

free from discriminations, and urges a favorable interpretation of treaties.

(6) To gather information regarding foreign movements of political significance. He should keep his Government informed regarding international alliances, anti-American propaganda, and militaristic or other movements tending to impair the security of the United States.

(7) To promote American interests in every way.

To perform these duties efficiently the ambassador must be on terms of friendly intimacy with leading persons in the country to which he is sent. Newspaper editors may be most useful acquaintances because the ambassador can both learn from them and impress upon them the good intentions of his Government, and so reach the public through the press.

The great variety of daily duties of an ambassador are interestingly set forth in a letter of Walter H. Page, written on December 22, 1913, while he was Ambassador to Great Britain :

If you think it's all play, you fool yourself ; I mean this job. There's no end of the work. It consists of these parts : Receiving people for two hours every day, some on some sort of business, some merely "to pay respects" ; attending to a large (and exceedingly miscellaneous) mail ; going to the Foreign Office on all sorts of errands ; looking up the oddest assortment of information that you ever heard of ; making reports to Washington on all sorts of things ; then the so-called social duties — giving dinners, receptions, etc., and attending them. I hear the most important news I get at so-called social functions. Then the court functions ; and the meetings and speeches ! The American Ambassador must go all over England and explain every American thing. You'd never recover from the shock if you could hear me speaking about Education, Agriculture, the observance of Christmas, the Navy, the Anglo-Saxon, Mexico, the Monroe Doctrine, Co-education, Woman Suffrage, Medicine, Law, Radio-Activity, Flying, the Supreme Court, the President as a Man of Letters, the Hookworm, the Negro — just get down the Encyclopaedia and continue the list. I've done this every week-night for a month, hand running, with a few afternoon performances thrown in ! I have missed only one engagement in these seven months ; and that was merely a private luncheon. I have been late only once. I have the best chauffeur in the world — he deserves credit for much of that. Of course, I don't get time to read a book. In fact, I can't keep up with what goes on at home. To read a newspaper

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eight or ten days old, when they come in bundles of three or four — is impossible. What isn't telegraphed here, I miss; and that means I miss most things.

I forgot, there are a dozen other kinds of activities, such as American marriages, which they always want the Ambassador to attend; getting them out of jail, when they are jugged (I have an American woman on my hands now, whose four children come to see me every day); looking after the American insane; helping Americans move the bones of their ancestors; interpreting the income-tax law; receiving medals for Americans; hearing American fiddlers, pianists, players; sitting for American sculptors and photographers; sending telegrams for property owners in Mexico; reading letters from thousands of people who have shares in estates here; writing letters of introduction; getting tickets to the House Gallery; getting seats in the Abbey; going with people to this and that and t'other; getting tickets to the races, the art-galleries, the House of Lords; answering fool questions about the United States put by Englishmen. With a military attaché, a naval attaché, three secretaries, a private secretary, two automobiles, Alice's private secretary, a veterinarian, an immigration agent, consuls everywhere, a despatch agent, lawyers, doctors, messengers — they keep us all busy. A woman turned up dying the other day. I sent for a big doctor. She got well. As if that wasn't enough, both the woman and the doctor had to come and thank me (fifteen minutes each). Then each wrote a letter! Then there are people who are going to have a Fair here; others who have a Fair coming on at San Francisco; others at San Diego; secretaries and returning and outgoing diplomats come and go (lunch for 'em all); [Negroes] come up from Liberia; Rhodes Scholars from Oxford; Presidential candidates to succeed Huerta; people who present books; women who wish to go to court; Jews who are excited about Rumania; passports, passports to sign; peace committees about the hundred years of peace; opera singers going to the United States; artists who have painted some American's portrait — don't you see? ¹

At most embassies and at a few legations there is a counselor; at every embassy and legation there are one or more secretaries; at some there are commercial, military, naval, and agricultural attachés; and in Oriental countries there are interpreters.

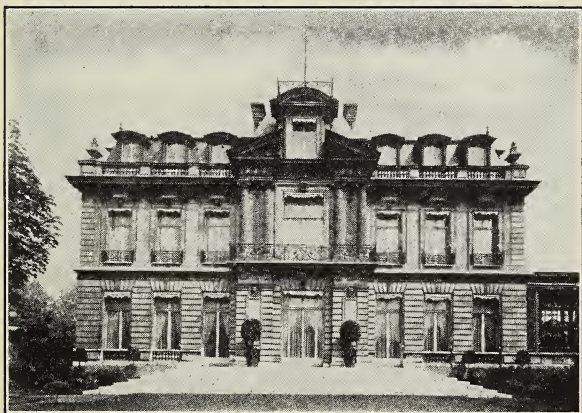
Counselors. — At most embassies and at a few legations there is a counselor who is designated by the President from among Foreign Service officers. He is the principal assistant and technical adviser in matters of international law and diplomatic

¹ "Life and Letters of Walter H. Page," Vol. I, page 159.

practice, and is general supervisor of the whole diplomatic staff.

Secretaries — one or more — are assigned to each embassy or legation from Foreign Service officers. Each ambassador is also entitled to a private confidential secretary appointed by himself.

Commercial Attachés are representatives of the Department of Commerce. They are appointed by the Secretary of Commerce



PRE-WAR RESIDENCE OF THE UNITED STATES AMBASSADOR IN PARIS
This building, with its attractive garden, is owned by the United States.

and report directly to him upon such manufacturing, industrial, and trade conditions as they find in foreign countries.

Military Attachés are assigned by the War Department as foreign observers of matters relating to national defense. They are constantly on the alert for new ideas that can be applied to their own armies, and are military advisers of ambassadors.

Naval Attachés act in the same general capacity with respect to the navy as do military attachés with respect to the army.

A *Treasury Attaché* was attached to the Embassy in Paris.

Language Officers are Foreign Service officers assigned in Asia and Russia to learn these difficult languages.

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Compensation. — An ambassador's salary is \$17,500. The social affairs of the official set at a European capital demand such heavy expenditures that few ambassadors can live within their salaries. The residence and office of the ambassador are usually together, but in London and Paris they are separate.

New Housing Policy. — In 1938 a five-year \$5,000,000 building program for American embassies and consulates was authorized. The State Department provided well-designed buildings for as many smaller posts as possible and consolidated various activities of our Government under one roof in important capitals.

One of these projects, already finished, is a \$500,000 combined office and residence for the United States High Commissioner at Manila. Also a summer palace in the cool mountains at Baguio cost about \$250,000. Oriental people are impressed with splendor, so this project is more expensive than other projects in small countries.

Privileges and Immunities. — Ambassadors, and their families and servants to a great extent, are exempt from arrest and from taxation of personal belongings. Within their embassies they may do almost anything not prohibited by the laws of the nation which has sent them. Of course, noises or anything which proves a nuisance outside of the embassy is not permitted. These privileges are associated with a legal fiction known as *extraterritoriality*, which term means that the ambassador has, as it were, carried a portion of the territory of his home country with its laws to the foreign country — especially a non-European country.

Ambassadors of foreign governments to the United States are entitled to bring suits originally in the Supreme Court, though they may also sue in the state courts. They may be sued, however, only in the Supreme Court and then only so far as international law permits.

Ministers are sent to the governments of all independent countries of any importance except to those to which ambassadors are sent. Everything that has been said concerning ambassadors applies to ministers except the honor or rank, salary,

and the name of their residences. The salaries of ministers range from \$10,000 to \$12,000 and their official residences are called legations.

Consular Branch of the Foreign Service. — Besides the diplomatic agents, a consul is stationed in every important commercial city of the world. A vice-consul is sent even to the faraway



AMBASSADOR WINANT AND PRIME MINISTER CHURCHILL

The Ambassador is signing the exchange of American destroyers for English bases in the Atlantic.

island of Tahiti, which is more than 2000 miles south of the Hawaiian Islands. There are some 300 consular establishments with about 3000 consuls, clerks, interpreters, etc.

Foreign Service Inspectors, consuls-general, consuls, and career vice-consuls, interpreters, and unclassified Foreign Service officers are appointed by the President and Senate. Non-career vice-consuls and consular agents are appointed by the Secretary of State.

Foreign Service Inspectors are Foreign Service officers assigned to inspect the work of both diplomatic and consular officers at least once every two years. For this purpose the world is

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divided into six districts with a Foreign Service inspector over each.

Consuls-General are stationed in the principal commercial centers, where they exercise a limited supervision over the other consuls within their districts. The district may be a country, a part of a country, or several small countries. Before we sent ministers to the British self-governing dominions the consuls-general performed semidiplomatic functions.¹ In fact, a few



UNITED STATES CONSULAR BUILDING AT YOKOHAMA, JAPAN

This building contained the residence and offices of the consul.

cities have consuls-general without supervisory power — this important title being given merely because of the city's commercial standing.

Consuls are commercial agents in charge of a consulate or else assigned to special work; for instance, there were five consuls assigned to the consulate-general at Paris. The consul has jurisdiction within a limited district around the city where the consulate is located.

Consular Agents act for the consul at distant points within his district where American interests are concerned. They are usually prominent Americans, but may be foreign businessmen.

¹ We now send ministers to Canada, Ireland, Australia, and the Union of South Africa.

Some years ago the American flag flew over a laundry in a South American city. The agent's compensation is half the fees he collects.

Vice-Consuls of career are subordinate consuls. Non-career vice-consuls are merely clerks appointed by the Secretary of State so they can administer oaths and sign documents of an official but unimportant character.

Interpreters are native clerks who can speak the language of the country where the consulate is located.

Duties of Consuls. — Before an American consul proceeds to his post the principal American diplomatic officer in the country asks the minister of foreign affairs of that country for an *exequatur* (document extending consular privileges and immunities). The foreign government has the right to refuse the request, but seldom does. It may also revoke the *exequatur* at any time, but when doing so, through courtesy, it usually assigns the cause.

(1) The negative duties of a consul are to abstain from publicly expressing his opinion on local political questions and from accepting gifts, offices, or titles from the foreign government, except with the special consent of Congress.

(2) The consul promotes American trade and commerce. He answers inquiries addressed to him by American exporters and importers, and he sends reports to the State Department regarding foreign markets for American products. These reports are collected into the weekly Commerce Reports issued by the Department of Commerce.¹ Such information as the following is given: special demands of local markets due to prevailing customs or prejudices or to unusual shortage of crop; changes in foreign laws bearing on commerce, such as customs regulations, patent laws, and food laws; and foreign methods of doing business. In brief, it is the consul's duty to spy out new promised lands of commercial opportunity.

¹ The weekly Commerce Reports, published by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, is sent to American producers who subscribe for it. Items like the following are published in it:

No. 16363, Agency wanted for spark plugs for airplanes. Madrid. (Names are not published because foreign competitors might use them.)

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(3) The consul protects the interests of the American government abroad in a variety of transactions affecting our revenues : by enforcing customs regulations, by preventing foreign shippers from undervaluing their goods, or individuals from smuggling valuable goods to this country. A consul is required to certify to the correctness of valuation of dutiable merchandise shipped from a foreign country to the United States.

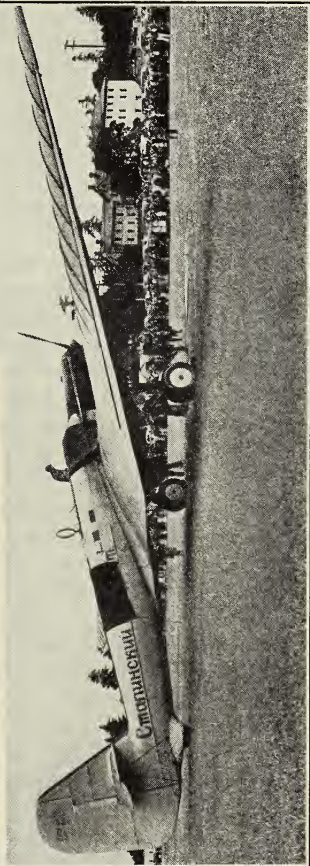
(4) A consul assists in excluding prohibited classes of immigrants, such as those in excess of the quota allowed a country, anarchists, criminals, paupers, and those having contagious diseases. The master of a vessel from a foreign port must submit to the American consul a list and description of the immigrants on board. The consul must satisfy himself as to the accuracy. This record is then sent to the immigration inspector at the port of arrival. The consul also inspects the sanitary and health conditions of the vessel, crew, passengers, and cargo. If satisfied with the conditions, he issues the vessel a bill of health.

(5) The consul assists wrecked or stranded American vessels, and is authorized to send shipwrecked American seamen back to the United States. He undertakes to settle disputes between master and seamen, and may send mutineers back to the United States for trial.

(6) The consul assists American citizens by protecting them in all privileges provided by treaty or conceded by usage; visas and, when authorized, issues passports; when permitted by treaty, law, or usage, settles personal estates of Americans who may die abroad without legal or other representatives, and remits the proceeds to the Treasury in case they are not called for by a legal representative within a year.

(7) The consul administers oaths, takes depositions, and acts as a witness to marriages.

(8) The consul is a friend to every American citizen. As a good example, a merchant from New York was on a business trip to the Russian Caucasus. While he was there, a revolution occurred in the district in which his business lay. His silence alarmed his relatives in the United States and the aid of the



THIS RUSSIAN PLANE MADE A NON-STOP FLIGHT FROM MOSCOW TO THE UNITED STATES BY WAY
OF THE NORTH POLE

Before leaving Russia these aviators obtained passports and had them visaed by an American consul.

Department of State was sought, which, in turn, learned through the consul at the place nearest the seat of the disturbance that the merchant was detained by the revolutionists and was without means. Money was supplied by the relatives and transmitted by the Department of State to the consul. That resourceful officer succeeded in employing an adventurous agent who found his way through the lines of the revolutionists, obtained the merchant's release, and after much difficulty brought him back to the consul and started him on his way to America.

Consular Jurisdiction. — The consul has some jurisdiction over whatever relates to the internal economy of American vessels. He settles disputes among masters, officers, and men.

Consuls in certain backward countries had jurisdiction over American citizens until the countries progressed to the stage where we were satisfied that the courts of these countries would do justice to our citizens when brought to trial. For instance, until World War II our consuls in China had jurisdiction over American citizens in both civil and criminal cases by virtue of treaty arrangements. They also heard civil cases between an American and a Chinese when the American was the defendant, and they tried Americans who were accused of criminal offenses against Chinese. But when China and the United States fought together against the Axis Powers we abolished our consular jurisdiction, and now we trust our citizens to Chinese justice.

Compensation, Privileges, and Immunities. — While on probation, consular officials are in the unclassified Foreign Service and receive from \$2500 to \$3400 a year. Subsequently, as they advance through the Foreign Service Office classes from Secretary to Consul-General, the salary varies from \$3500 to \$10,000 a year.

Consuls are not entitled to the immunities of diplomatic representatives, but most countries by treaty exempt them from arrest in civil cases and guarantee the protection of their archives. A consulate of the United States in a weak state is a fairly safe place in times of disturbances, and an embassy or legation is almost invariably a place of safety.

In the United States consuls of foreign governments are entitled to bring suits originally in the Supreme Court, though they may also sue in the state courts. They may be sued, however, only in the federal courts.

Passports. — A passport is a certificate used to identify a citizen of one state when traveling or residing in a foreign country, in order that the citizen may enjoy all the privileges that international law, treaty, or the prestige of his native state can insure. The Passport Division regulates the issuance of passports, and determines questions relating to the citizenship of Americans in foreign countries.

An American citizen who desires to travel abroad may make a written application to the Secretary of State for a passport. A blank form may be obtained from the Secretary of State, from the clerk of a federal court, or perhaps from the clerk of a local state court. The application contains a detailed description of the person and information as to his age, residence, and occupation. It must be signed by the person applying, and an affidavit must be attested by a clerk of a federal court, or of a state court if there is no federal court within the district of the state court. It must also be accompanied by a certificate from a creditable witness that the applicant is the person he represents himself to be, by two small photographs, and by a fee of nine dollars. (An additional fee of one dollar is paid to the clerk. Clerks of state courts retain this dollar; but federal officials must turn it into the Treasury of the United States.) During the emergency period passports contain thumbprints and must be revalidated by an American consul every six months. An application for a renewal should be made to the nearest diplomatic or consular office.

At New York, Boston, Chicago, and San Francisco, as well as in Washington, city agents of the Department of State perform passport duties. In cases of emergency these agents may, by wire and at the expense of the applicant, obtain permission from the State Department to issue a passport direct without delay.

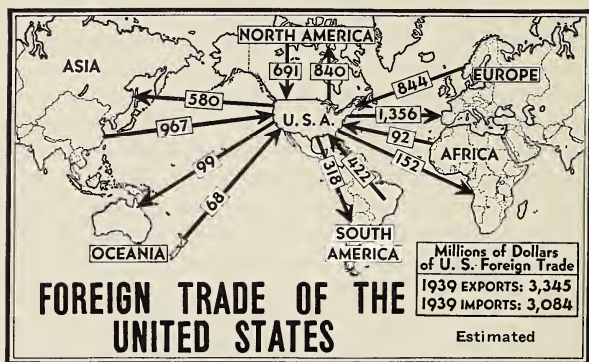
An American citizen does not need a passport to enter Canada,

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Cuba, or Mexico; but to travel in Mexico he should carry a card of identification issued by a Mexican consul.

A passport for most countries must be visaed (approved) by a consul of the country to be visited. A fee is usually charged for this service.

Extradition. — When a person accused of committing a crime in the United States flees to a foreign country, or one accused of committing a crime in a foreign country flees to the United States, his “extradition” (return) for trial can usually be



Courtesy United States Department of Commerce

obtained through the Secretary of State. This can be done because the United States has treaties with nearly all countries providing for the mutual return of fugitives from justice.

When a person accused of crime in one of our states flees to a foreign country, the governor of the state requests the Secretary of State in Washington to obtain permission to bring him back to the state in which the crime was committed.

By act of Congress or treaty, the governors of the states bordering Mexico and the governors of some of our island dependencies have been authorized to surrender a criminal or request the return of a criminal directly without the delay of acting through the State Department.

Extradition applies only to persons accused of crimes and not to those merely liable to civil suit. For example, if a debtor takes his property from the United States to a foreign country, he cannot be brought back by extradition. In this case the creditor would sue for his debt where the debt was contracted and obtain a judgment for the sum owed him. He could then perhaps have this judgment collected by the courts of the country to which the debtor has moved. This, however, cannot be done in all countries. The United States Courts will collect judgments for citizens of those countries which reciprocate and collect judgments for American citizens.

The **Emergency Fund**, now amounting to several million dollars a year, is put at the President's disposal by Congress for emergencies connected with foreign intercourse. This is the only fund in the administration of which no original accounts or vouchers to the Treasury Department are required. If the President thinks the purpose of the expenditure should not be made public, the Secretary of State merely issues a certificate of such expenditure without designating the purpose. This enables the President to maintain "secret agents" or to employ "personal representatives" without specific authority of Congress.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Why is the Department of State especially important?
2. Name some duties of the Secretary of State.
3. What is the relationship of the Undersecretary of State to the Secretary of State?
4. From whom does the Secretary of State seek advice when foreign problems arise?
5. Explain (1) how one may enter the Foreign Service, (2) the marriage restriction, (3) compensation, (4) promotion, (5) pension.
6. How are ambassadors and ministers chosen? In what three respects only do they differ? Are they chosen from the Foreign Service?
7. What are the duties of an ambassador or minister?
8. What is a counselor? Attaché?
9. What are the privileges and immunities of diplomats?
10. What are the duties of consuls? Consuls-general? Foreign Service inspectors?

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11. What is a passport? How do you obtain one?
12. What do you mean by "extradition," and how is it carried out?
13. For what purpose does the President have an Emergency Fund? How does it differ from other funds, and why?

PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION

1. A small proportion of those taking examinations for entrance to the Foreign Service passes the thorough examinations. For what other vocations is one who has worked for these examinations prepared?

2. Would you appoint Foreign Service officers or business and professional men who have been successful in private life as ambassadors? If you have Foreign Service officers as ambassadors, should a new President feel free to demote them if they disagree with him on policies? What effect would demotion have upon the morale of the Foreign Service?

3. In 1612 Sir Henry Wotton remarked that "an ambassador is an honest man sent to lie abroad for the commonwealth." In 1794 Washington thus instructed John Jay, special minister to Great Britain: "It is the President's wish that the characteristics of an American minister should be marked on the one hand by firmness against improper compliances, and on the other hand by sincerity, candor, truth, and prudence, and by horror of finesse and chicanery." Why do you expect an American ambassador to live up to Washington's ideal?

4. The British Ambassador in Washington receives in salary and allowances approximately \$85,000 a year. The highest salary paid to any ambassador in our service is \$17,500, with an extremely small allowance for entertainment and for the upkeep of the embassy. The British ambassadors do much entertaining at public expense. American ambassadors receive very small allowances for entertainment. Do you consider entertainment of sufficient value to the United States to justify paying for it from taxes?

5. An Executive Order of 1936 provides that before marriage with a person of foreign nationality a Foreign Service officer must obtain permission from the Secretary of State. Each request for permission to marry must be accompanied by a resignation to be acted upon by the Secretary of State. Why is this law necessary?

6. The representative of an American film corporation abroad complained to the embassy that the corporation had been robbed of a certain film which had been shipped to the country in question and was then being advertised. The embassy took the matter up with the foreign office, explaining the case and asking for intervention. Two days later the representative of the film company reported that the

police had received instructions to act and had taken steps to prevent the showing of the film.

An American company complained that new regulations of the Suez Canal Company made it impossible for them to ship their goods to the Orient through the Suez Canal. As a result of the intervention of the embassy, a compromise satisfactory to both parties was reached.

An American company sold a cargo of mixed dry goods and boots and shoes to a foreign government to the value of about \$300,000. Difficulties were encountered by the company in obtaining payment, but as a result of the continued efforts of the legation the entire debt was eventually paid.

Numerous cases occur when the action of our diplomatic missions results in the remission of fines assessed upon American shippers or their consignees or upon shipping companies for unintentional infringement of customs regulations.

Why can a minister or ambassador perform the above functions more successfully than a privately paid attorney?

7. Today, when dictators flood the world with propaganda by radio and otherwise, is it more important for us to have psychologists and publicity agents to carry on propaganda in our favor or to send agents to report what has happened affecting us after it has happened?

8. The Nazis have pursued their policy of undermining the morale of nation after nation as a means of "softening it up," as they phrase it, for conquest. This "softening up" is to stir up prejudice, discord, conflict, and confusion in the population. By promoting prejudice, by turning men of different faiths against each other, by capitalizing on every political and economic controversy, a nation can be so weakened that its resistance to military aggression can be destroyed. Through whom do the Nazis carry out this softening process?

9. Uncle Sam has probably become the greatest "listener" in the world. He hears, translates, and analyzes nearly a million words a day spoken by our potential enemies in various languages over the radio. The German radio bombards us for eleven hours daily, the Japanese four and a half, and Italy more than four; and this is all propaganda spoken in the English language, or in their language for their racial group in this country. Similar propaganda is broadcast to Spanish and Portuguese America from Spain and Portugal. And we also listen to what the Axis powers are saying to their own people. Uncle Sam does his listening through listening posts at Portland, Oregon, for Far Eastern broadcasts; at Kingsville, Texas, for Latin America; at Santurce, Puerto Rico, for Western Europe; and at Guilford, Maryland, for the rest of Europe, Africa, and the Near East. At each station there is a staff of linguists and technical experts who work in three shifts of eight hours each. Anything of significance

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heard is forwarded to a carefully guarded branch of the Federal Communications Commission in Washington. There a trained propaganda expert prepares a daily summary of the daily gleanings for the President. This costs us about \$1,000,000 a year. Explain why you think it is or is not worth the cost.

10. To combat German propaganda in Latin America, short-wave stations are being erected in America to feed 68 long-wave stations in Latin America. What would probably happen in Latin America if we allowed the Nazi lies or distorted truth to be spread and we remained inactive? For instance, the Nazis try to make it appear that the United States is arming to seize Latin America.

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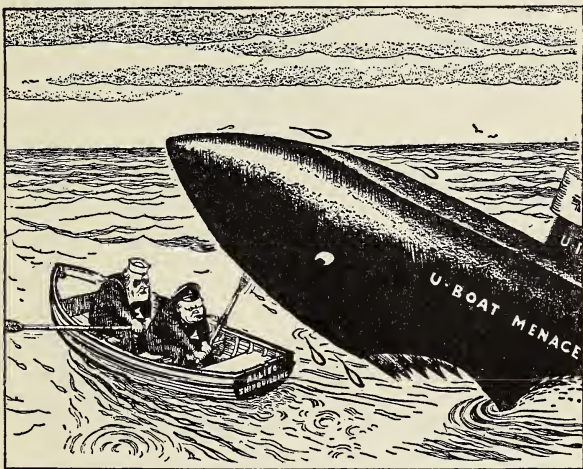
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CHAPTER II

FOREIGN PROBLEMS AND POLICIES OF THE UNITED STATES

WINNING THE WAR

Victory or Slavery. — Ever since the treacherous attack of the Japanese on Pearl Harbor, the chief job of the United States



The London Daily Mail

THE RACE FOR LIFE

has been to help win the war. Whether we approve of war or not, in order to survive we must crush the brutal forces that seek to enslave the world.

A Global War. — No sooner had the United States become actively engaged in the war, than the entire globe became the

battlefield. No ocean, no sea, no continent is free from the struggle. The airways circling the globe are routes for bomber and transport planes. Submarines menace shipping from the Arctic to the Cape of Good Hope. Jungles and deserts are the scenes of violent fighting.

A Total War. — In former wars the civilian populations away from the battle lines were comparatively safe, but the modern bomber has brought the battle lines to any city and to any home within flying range of enemy territory. Just as the war has brought danger into every home, it has also made it necessary to curtail civilian production and activities. Food is rationed over much of the globe. Many parts of the world are feeling a clothing shortage. Transportation of all kinds has been harnessed for war use almost exclusively. Millions of men are in military service, while many more millions of men and women are working to produce planes, tanks, ships, guns, and munitions. There are few people, anywhere in the world, whose lives have not been touched in some way by the war. In the United States the change from peace to war activity has been very rapid, accomplishing in two years what the Axis nations required a decade to do. However, much further gearing to a war economy will be necessary before the enemy is defeated.

Cost of War. — We are spending about \$100,000,000,000 a year on war — about three times as much as World War I cost altogether. What the war will cost in suffering and lives cannot be measured in concrete terms, but it has made the nation resolve that an enduring peace shall be established, so that the coming generations will not have to go to war again to defend the principles of democracy.

The United Nations. — Early in January 1942 a group of twenty-six nations at war with the Axis signed a joint agreement in which they declared:

“(1) Each government pledges itself to employ its full resources, military and economic, against those members of the Tripartite Pact and its adherents with which such government is at war.”

“(2) Each government pledges itself to cooperate with the

GLOBAL WAR TAKES AMERICAN TROOPS TO DISTANT POSTS

STEAMER DISTANCES FROM U.S.

New York to	Island	2,875
"	Eritrea	13,050
"	India	13,520
San Francisco to	Australia	6,865

(figures are statute miles)

STEAMER DISTANCES FROM U.S.	
New York	to Iceland.....2,875
" "	" Eritrea.....13,050
" "	" India.....15,520
San Francisco	to Australia.....8,865

(figures are statute miles)

Courtesy New York Times

PROOF THAT OUR FUTURE THINKING AND PLANNING MUST BE GLOBAL

governments signatory hereto and not to make a separate armistice or peace with the enemies."

Out of this brief statement has developed a strong unified group known as the United Nations. The group includes Great Britain, Russia, China, and the governments-in-exile of the overrun countries of Europe. Also included in the original



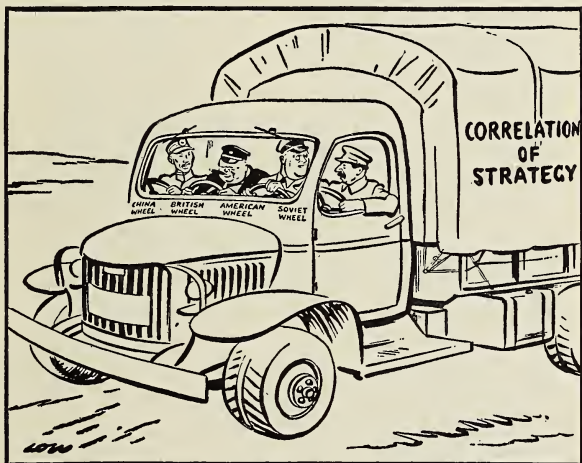
REPRESENTATIVES AND FLAGS OF THE UNITED NATIONS

At the table are Mexican Ambassador Najera, President Roosevelt, President Quezon of the Philippines, and Secretary Hull. Can you find the British and Russian ambassadors?

twenty-six nations are Cuba, and the other small nations of the Caribbean area. Since the first group of signatories declared war against the Axis, several other nations have added their names to the list. Among this later group are Mexico, Brazil, and the Philippines.

Pooling of Resources. — By pooling transportation and many essential resources, including food, it has been possible to build up strength rapidly where it was needed. England is largely dependent upon the outside world for her food supply. Russia was in serious need of planes and munitions during the 1942

siege of Stalingrad and the Caucasus drive. China has been cut off from supplies except by transport plane, but some vital materials have been flown in from India; and China has sent such essential materials as tungsten and tung oil in return to the United States and Britain.



London Evening Standard

UNIFIED COMMAND

Convoys. — The increasing submarine menace has made conveying of shipping necessary. Until recently the U-boats were sinking more tonnage than we built. Through joint action of the British and United States navies the ships of the United Nations are convoyed through dangerous areas.

Unified Commands. — In actual combat the military leadership has centered in unified commands. General Douglas MacArthur, for example, is in charge of all action in the Southwest Pacific and has Australians, New Zealanders, and United States forces under his command. Although no single over-all command has been set up, the United Nations have worked harmoniously under the leadership appointed for each major theater of war.

Lend-Lease. — Early in 1941, Congress passed the Lend-Lease Act which was designed especially to give aid to Britain, but it contained a clause empowering the United States to lend or lease materials to the countries whose defense is vital to our own. This Act authorized the President to “sell, transfer title to, exchange, lease, lend, or otherwise dispose of defense articles to the government of any country whose defense is considered essential to the United States, by the President.”

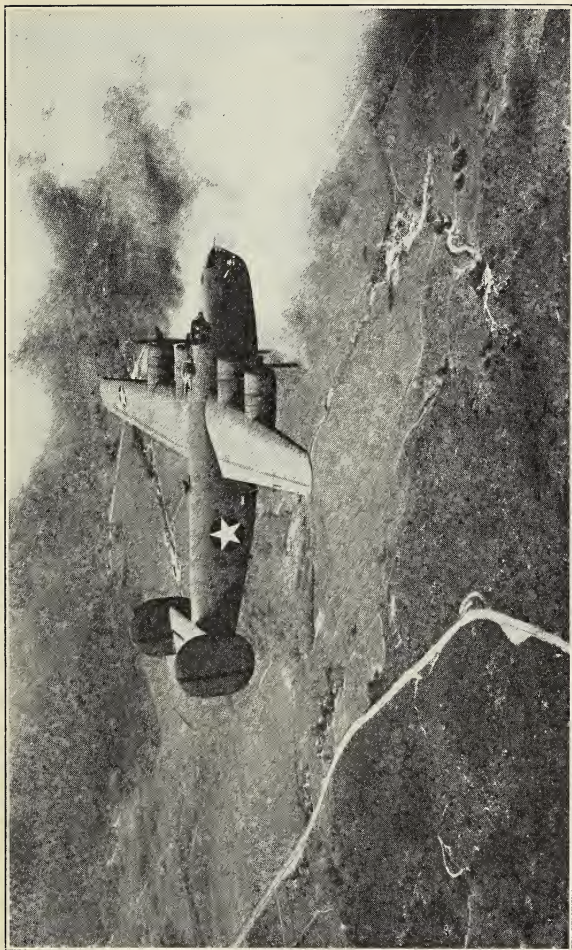
Russia at that time had a non-aggression agreement with Germany, but when it was attacked by the Nazis on June 22, it was felt that Russia should be included in Lend-Lease. Approximately \$8,000,000,000 a year is being spent in the United States for Lend-Lease goods, including food, munitions, machinery, and even raw materials needed by our allies. China has received some aid through Lend-Lease, and, when transportation lines are reopened in the Pacific area as Japan is thrust back, it is expected that the aid which China needs to defeat Japan will be given.

Lend-Lease activities work both ways, as Britain, Australia, French Equatorial Africa, and other places on the globe have returned substantial aid in food, equipment, and airfields to United States forces located in those areas. Great Britain sent barrage balloons and anti-aircraft guns and an entire anti-aircraft shell factory to the United States when we entered the war. Considerable British materials were sent with the landing forces in the African drive.

A large portion of the materials exchanged has been food. We supply some of the dairy products which the British used to import from the lowland countries of Europe. Considerable meat, sugar, butter, grains, and other foods are going to Russia to help feed the Soviet army.

WINNING THE PEACE AFTER THE WAR

Permanent Peace the Principal Goal. — After this war, our principal goal will be the finding of a basis for a lasting peace. Even in the midst of war the United States realizes the problems



THIS B-24 LIBERATOR CAN CARRY 7,500 POUNDS OF BOMBS 3,000 MILES

which must be solved quickly when war ends. To keep large areas of the globe from starvation and to prevent chaotic conditions that might breed revolutions we must be prepared to act promptly. Organizations are already being developed to plan for permanent peace as soon as the fighting ends.

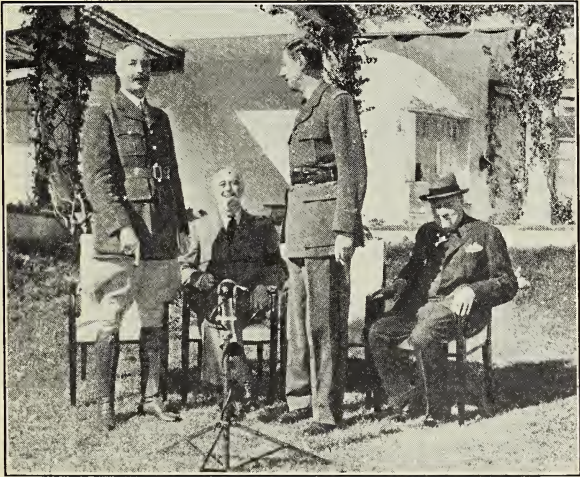
Demobilization. — In every country at war millions of soldiers and workers will be anxious to return to their homes and peacetime occupations. An estimated 10,000,000 workers and war prisoners in Germany will want to return to their homelands at once. Most of the adults in Britain are engaged in some sort of war activity on a full-time basis. In the United States at least 30,000,000 people will be demobilized from the army, navy, and war factories. When these millions of people are suddenly thrown out of work or discharged from the armies, serious economic and political problems will result.

Food as a Peace Weapon. — With the collapse of German resistance, or even earlier, when the United Nations reoccupy the invaded areas of Europe, the meager supplies of food must be augmented at once by adequate food for the people. If carefully administered, the food for the starving populace can help develop good will for the United Nations. The starving people of occupied areas cannot give much assistance to invading United Nations forces until food is provided for them and assured for their families. To plan for this food program and to administer it promptly, the President has set up the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation, with Herbert Lehman, former governor of New York, as Administrator. Much of this food may have to be a gift from the American people to the needy of Europe and Asia.

Re-establishment of Governments. — Even before any peace agreements can be made, it will be necessary to get responsible governments at work in many of the European countries. Most of these nations have kept a government-in-exile intact and are cooperating as members of the United Nations; and these leaders will need an opportunity to return to their lands to get their governmental machinery going again. Germany and Italy may have anti-Nazi elements strong enough to reorganize demo-

cratic governments and to cooperate with the United Nations after the overthrow of Hitler and Mussolini.

International Policing. — Until the hatreds of war die down and the peoples of the world are willing to accept the decisions of victory and peace it will be necessary to keep military forces



BOTH GIRAUD AND DE GAULLE ARE PLEDGED TO
RE-ESTABLISH DEMOCRACY IN FRANCE

over wide areas to prevent civil wars or revolutions. This force for peace may eventually become a permanent international police strong enough to stop any aggressor at once.

WAR AIMS OF THE UNITED NATIONS

The Atlantic Charter, signed by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill when they met at sea in the North Atlantic in August, 1941, has been accepted as a statement of the war aims of the United Nations. The text of the Charter is given on page 36.

1. Their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other.
2. They desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned.
3. They respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live ; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.
4. They will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity.
5. They desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labor standards, economic advancement, and social security.
6. After the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want.
7. Such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance.
8. They believe that all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea, or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments.

Stated Aims of Russia, China, and Great Britain. — The policies and plans of the United States are also the apparent aims of the nations who are members of the United Nations.

Stalin, in an address on November 6, 1942, made the following statement: "The program of action of the Anglo-Soviet-American coalition is: Abolition of racial exclusiveness, equality of nations and integrity of their territories, liberation of enslaved nations and restoration of their sovereign rights, the right of every nation to arrange its affairs as it wishes, economic aid to

nations that have suffered, and assistance to them in attaining their material welfare, restoration of democratic liberties, the destruction of the Hitlerite regime."

Dr. T. V. Soong, Minister of Foreign Affairs of China, in October, 1942 said, "The natural desire of China is to see set up, as quickly as possible, an Executive Council of the United Nations, and to help evolve therefrom a workable world order, an international instrument fully capable of dispensing justice and enforcing law and order among nations during, as well as after, the war."

Anthony Eden, Foreign Minister of Great Britain, in speaking of how the world is shrinking before our eyes, on May 8, 1942, declared that after the war, "There will be but one village street from Edinburgh to Chungking." And in a later address he asserted: "We are pledged to play our full part in building a peaceful, active international society."

Aims and Developing Policies of the United States. — Although specific official commitments of aims have not been made in the United States, the speeches of leading statesmen of both parties indicate a trend that closely follows the suggestions of the other nations.

President Roosevelt in his "Report on the State of the Nation" to Congress early in 1943 made the following statements:

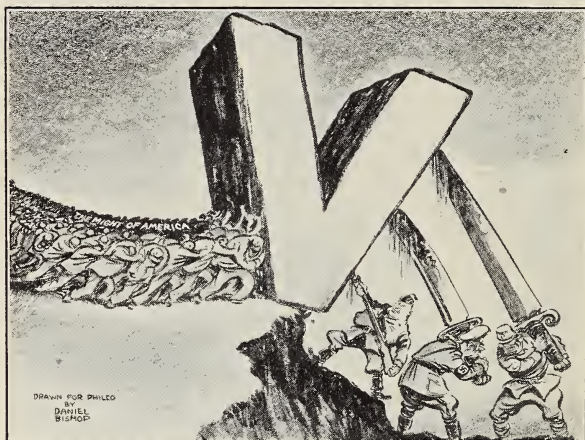
"Today the United Nations are the mightiest military coalition in all history. They represent an overwhelming majority of the population of the world. Bound together in a solemn agreement that they themselves will not commit acts of aggression or conquest against any of their neighbors, the United Nations can and must remain united for the maintenance of peace by preventing any attempt to rearm in Germany, in Japan, in Italy, or in any other nation which seeks to violate the Tenth Commandment — 'Thou shalt not covet.'

"We have also learned that if we do not pull the fangs of the predatory animals of this world, they will grow in strength — and they will be at our throats in a short generation.

"Let us remember, too, that economic safety for the America of the future is threatened unless a greater economic stability

comes to the rest of the world. We cannot make America an island in either a military or an economic sense. Hitlerism, like any other form of crime or disease, can grow from the evil seeds of economic as well as military feudalism."

Vice-President Wallace said: "This United Nations' charter has in it an international bill of rights and certain economic



Philco Corporation

PUSH — IT ISN'T A WISHING STONE!

guarantees of international peace. These must and will be made more specific. There must be an international bank and an international TVA based on projects which are self-liquidating at low rates of interest."

Cordell Hull, our Secretary of State, has said: "No nation can make satisfactory progress while its citizens are in the grip of constant fear of external attack or interference. It is plain that some international agency must be created which can, by force if necessary, keep the peace among the nations in the future. There must be international cooperative action to set up mechanisms which can thus insure peace. This must include

eventual adjustment of national armaments in such a manner that the rule of law cannot be successfully challenged and that the burden of armaments may be reduced to a minimum."

Sumner Welles, the Under Secretary of State, spoke rather definitely when he said: "I believe that the people will insist that the United Nations undertake the maintenance of an international police power in the years after the war to insure freedom from fear to peace-loving peoples until there is established that permanent system of general security promised by the Atlantic Charter.

"Finally I believe they will demand that the United Nations become the nucleus of a world organization of the future to determine the final terms of a just, an honest, and a durable peace, to be entered into after the passing of the period of social and economic chaos which will come inevitably upon the termination of the present war, and after the completion of the initial and gigantic task of relief, of reconstruction, and of rehabilitation which will confront the United Nations at the time of the armistice."

Wendell Willkie, Republican presidential candidate in 1940, on returning from his trip around the globe, stated: "To win peace three things seem to be necessary — first, we must plan now for peace on a global basis; second, the world must be free economically and politically, for nations and for men, that peace may exist in it; third, America must play an active part, a constructive part, in freeing it, and in keeping its peace."

Governor Harold E. Stassen of Minnesota, one of the younger leading Republicans, in a detailed suggestion of an international organization said: "Perhaps the greatest present deterrent to increasing world cooperation is a tendency on the part of many people to admit its desirability, to acknowledge the correctness of general statements on the subject, but to say it is impossible to work out.

"It is my proposal that we should contemplate, and begin to plan now, for a definite continuing organization of the United Nations of the World. China, Russia, the British Commonwealth of Nations, the United States of America, and all of the

smaller United Nations should participate in this governmental structure."

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. What is the chief problem of the United States?
2. What have the United Nations pledged themselves to do?
3. What does the Lend-Lease Act authorize the President to do?
4. What should be our principal goal at the end of this war?
5. Why is food an important weapon in winning the war?
6. What are several provisions of the Atlantic Charter?
7. What do some of our leading officials say we should do at the end of the war to promote permanent peace?

PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Totalitarian governments promote efficiency, and democratic or representative governments, liberty. Which is more important to the United States — efficiency or liberty? Or some of each?

2. The United States withdrew her marines from Santo Domingo, from the Panama Republic, from Nicaragua, and from Haiti. She granted complete independence to Cuba by abrogating the Platt Amendment which imposed three restrictions on Cuba until 1934. And she promised the Philippines independence for July 4, 1946. Explain how this "Good Neighbor Policy" has not only given us an easy conscience, but how it has brought assistance to us for winning this war.

3. The thirteen states forming the United States of America gave up their armies for one national army — merely retaining state militia. The forty-eight states now settle their disputes in the United States Supreme Court. Should we work towards an international army to enforce international law — the world states merely retaining police forces for internal policing?

4. Would you be willing to join the other nations in abolishing bombing planes and in placing all air forces under command of a federation?

5. Would you favor regional collective security pacts: for example, the American countries mutually agreeing to prevent the seizure of territory by an aggressor nation?

6. Do you agree with the following statement from Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University:

"At the moment there is no more insidious attack being made upon the foundations of prosperity and of peace than that of advocating economic nationalism and neutrality in case a conflict breaks out between two other nations. The conceptions which underlie these

exhortations belong to the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, but not to the twentieth century. There is and can be no economic nationalism without ultimate national suicide and world-wide disaster. There is and can be no neutrality, in the nineteenth-century sense, without complete and immoral neglect of the highest of national obligations. When in 1928 some forty-three nations signed the Pact of Paris renouncing war as an instrument of national policy, the possibility of neutrality disappeared at once. There could be no breach of that Pact without some government breaking its word, and for a moral government and a moral people there can be no neutrality when the issue is between one who breaks his given word and one who keeps it. The attempt to establish old-fashioned neutrality under new-fashioned conditions will not only do nothing to keep a nation out of war, but it will do much to make it feel most grievously the effects of any war which comes to pass. In this day and generation progress consists in not overlooking governmental immorality and faithlessness, but in preventing it when possible and in rebuking it when impossible to prevent it. That means genuine world organization and collective security through an effective world police force."

7. Do you consider it essential that the nations should cease encouraging populations greater than their territories can support or for sparsely settled countries to let down their immigration bars?

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CHAPTER III

CARIBBEAN DEPENDENCIES OF THE UNITED STATES

PUERTO RICO

Introduction. — Puerto Rico lies 1400 miles southeast of New York. It is the top of a mountain most of which is under water. On his return to Spain, Columbus is said to have described the country by placing a silk handkerchief on the table and raising



Courtesy of Current History

ISLANDS OF THE CARIBBEAN SEA

it in the center in a long ridge running east and west, while the silken folds of the fabric fell away from the central elevation in innumerable little hills and valleys. In the center of the island the extreme elevation of the mountains is about four fifths of a mile. The coastal plain is irregular in width, while many valleys and plateaus of rich productive soil are found at all altitudes.

The northern half of the island is well watered. It has abundant rain and many rivers. The southern half of the island has a smaller rainfall because of the mountain barrier to the rain-bearing trade winds, and supplements its scantier rainfall by irrigation. Water is secured for irrigation by impounding the waters of northern rivers, tunneling the mountains, and carrying the water through the tunnels to the southern fields. All of this irrigation

has been the work of American initiative since our occupation of the island.

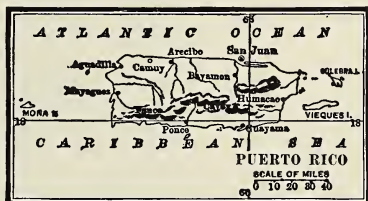
People. — There are 1,800,000 people crowded into Puerto Rico's 3435 square miles. Of these three fourths are whites, more than 300,000 are mulattoes, and less than 100,000 are Negroes. Most of them are agricultural laborers.

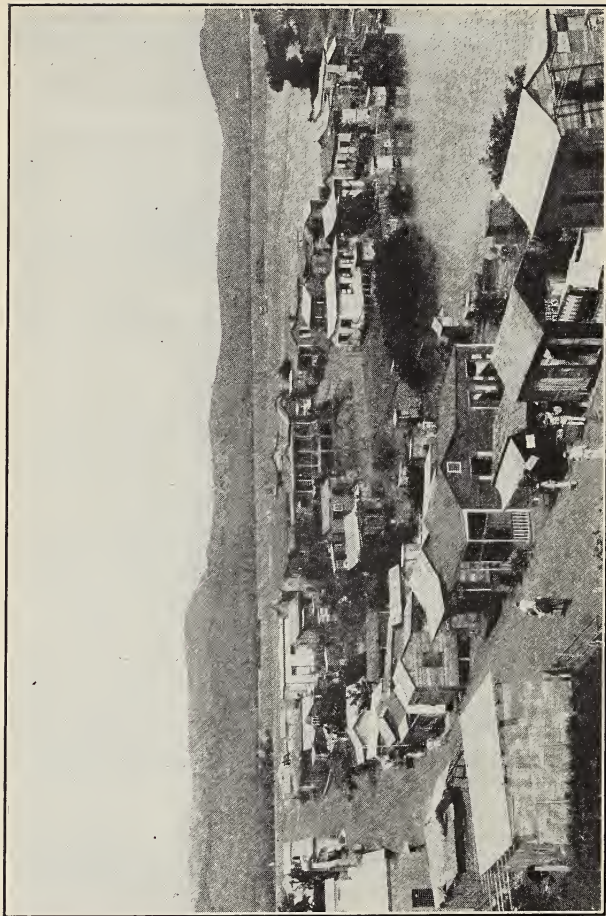
When the United States acquired Puerto Rico from Spain (1899), the laborers were among the most unfortunate human beings in the world. Taxes were so high and they were so poor that they could not afford to eat and drink the meat, sugar, and coffee that they produced.

Writing in 1897, a high authority in Puerto Rico had the following to say about the Puerto Rican laborer: "With a pale face, bare feet, lean body, ragged clothing, and feverish look, he walks indifferently, with the shadows of ignorance in his eyes, dreaming of the cock fight, the shuffle of the cards, or the prize in the provincial lottery."

Puerto Rico is without natural resources other than fertile soil. Its population — 500 per square mile — has doubled since 1898. The birthrate is double that of the United States, and half of the people are without work.

Legal Status. — The United States took possession of Puerto Rico during the Spanish-American War, 1898, and acquired it by treaty the following year. Because the Supreme Court of the





OVERPOPULATED PUERTO RICO

Puerto Rico was poor under the Spanish régime and remains poor under that of the United States.

United States decided that the Constitution does not follow the flag, the inhabitants did not become citizens of the United States until Congress granted them citizenship in 1917.¹ All parts of our Constitution do not yet extend to Puerto Rico. As an example, the Nineteenth Amendment, granting suffrage to women, does not apply to Puerto Rico² as it does to Alaska and Hawaii. Because all parts of the Constitution do not apply to Puerto Rico, it is an *unincorporated* organized territory.

The Legislature of Puerto Rico is composed of two houses, a senate and a house of representatives. The *senate* consists of nineteen members and the *house* of thirty-nine.³ Members of both houses are elected for terms of four years.⁴ The houses enjoy a general legislative power, subject to the following restrictions:

(1) The statutory laws of the United States, except the internal revenue laws, usually apply to Puerto Rico.

(2) Congress has enacted a bill of rights which guarantees to the people of Puerto Rico those rights that are guaranteed by the United States Constitution to the people of the United States.

(3) Congress has placed several specific prohibitions upon Puerto Rico. For example, polygamy is forbidden, and in the Act of 1917 the employment of children under 14 years of age in any occupation injurious to health or morals is prohibited.⁵

(4) Legislation may be vetoed by the governor, but his veto may be over-ridden by a two-thirds vote of both houses. If the governor's veto is over-ridden, the bill is referred to the President of the United States, who has an absolute veto.

¹ Of more than a million inhabitants only 288 availed themselves of the option of not accepting American citizenship.

² In 1929 the legislature extended suffrage to women over 21 who can read and write.

³ Two senators are elected from each of seven senatorial districts and five are elected at large. One member of the house is elected from each of thirty-five districts and four are elected at large.

⁴ The local legislature determines who shall vote for members, but in 1917 Congress provided that only American citizens twenty-one years of age may vote and that there shall be no property qualifications for suffrage.

⁵ Most of the prohibitions of the first ten Amendments of the Constitution (Bill of Rights) are forbidden by this Act.

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(5) All legislative acts must be submitted to Congress, which reserves the power to annul them, but in practice does not interfere.

The **Executive** power is vested in a governor appointed by the President and Senate of the United States for an indefinite term. The governor is assisted by six heads of executive departments.



COLORS OF THE RESERVE OFFICERS TRAINING CORPS, UNIVERSITY OF PUERTO RICO, RIO PIEDRAS

The attorney general and commissioner of education are appointed by the President, while the treasurer, commissioner of the interior, commissioner of health, and commissioner of agriculture and labor are appointed by the governor. These six heads of departments form an executive council which assist the governor in an advisory capacity. They hold office for four years.¹

¹ The national administration in Washington appoints an auditor, customs-house officials, immigration officials, officials of coast light service, Farm Loan officials, and postmasters. The Weather Bureau, the Veterans' Bureau, the Children's Bureau, and the agricultural experiment station also operate in Puerto Rico.

The Island has a locally supported police force, which is under the governor, and a national guard regiment comparable to the national guards in our states. There is also a detachment of the United States Army and a naval establishment on the Island.

The Judiciary of Puerto Rico has been almost completely Americanized in form, law, and procedure. The Supreme Court consists of five judges appointed for life by the President and Senate. Appeals lie from this court to the Supreme Court of the United States when constitutional questions are involved. Below this court are inferior courts controlled by the local legislature. There is also one United States District Court with a judge appointed by the President and Senate for four years.

The District Court has the usual jurisdiction of a federal district court and has jurisdiction of all controversies where all of the parties on either side of the controversy are citizens of a foreign state or one of the American States, not domiciled in Puerto Rico, provided as much as \$3000 is in controversy. Appeals lie from this court to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals or to the United States Supreme Court.

A Commissioner, elected by the voters every four years, represents the Island in Washington. Unlike the delegate from an incorporated territory, he has no right to a seat in the House of Representatives, but by courtesy the House has given him the privilege of speaking and of serving on committees. He receives a salary of \$10,000 per annum, plus \$500 a session for traveling expenses.

The Finances of Puerto Rico are not handled like those of an incorporated territory. Instead of paying the internal revenue taxes levied by Congress, the local legislature levies these taxes for Puerto Rico, including the income tax.¹ Commodities between Puerto Rico and the United States do not pay tariff duty, but articles entering the United States from Puerto Rico must pay the United States internal revenue tax, and articles from the United States entering Puerto Rico must pay the

¹ Because the income tax of Puerto Rico is much lower than that of the United States, many corporations have transferred from our states to Puerto Rico.

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Puerto Rican internal revenue tax. Articles entering Puerto Rico from countries other than the United States pay the same tariff duties that they would pay if entering the United States. All of these taxes go into the treasury of the Puerto Rican government. Three fourths of this revenue would go into our national treasury if collected by an incorporated territory.

Puerto Rico is not allowed to impose an export tax, and she cannot collect an import tax unless the tariff law of the United States levies it. Moreover, Puerto Rican bonds are tax exempt in the United States. But Puerto Rico cannot issue bonds in excess of 10 per cent of her assessed property valuation.

Trade. — During the last quarter century of the Spanish régime the total foreign trade of Puerto Rico remained stationary, with imports exceeding exports. During the first forty years under the American régime her foreign trade increased from about \$20,000,000 to \$199,000,000 during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1940. In 1897 about 15 per cent of her exports came to the United States. In 1940, 98 per cent of her \$92,000,000 worth of exports came to the United States. In 1897 the United States furnished Puerto Rico 20 per cent of her imports. In 1940, 94 per cent of her \$107,000,000 worth of imports was from the United States.

The increased trade of the island under the American régime is due partly to the open-door policy of the United States for her products and partly to the assurance it gave American capital until the recent independence movement.

Education. — Spanish is the language of the island, and in the interior not one person in a hundred can speak English. A member of the legislature practically always speaks in Spanish, but the United States District Court is conducted in English. Spanish is the language of the public schools, but in some schools English is taught gratis in all the grades by American or native teachers. English is less popular than fifteen years ago, but President Franklin Roosevelt increased the number of American teachers.

In 1898 the schools were not worthy of the name. There were no high schools and no well-trained teachers. During the

forty-odd years under the American régime, the school enrollment increased from 27,000 to nearly 300,000; and illiteracy has been reduced from 83 per cent to about 41 per cent.

As Puerto Rico does not have to support an army or navy or pay war debts, it devotes nearly half of its revenue to education. But the per capita wealth of the Island is small, and there are still about 300,000 children between the ages of five and eighteen out of school for the want of funds.

Under the American régime considerable improvement has been made in the economic and social situation. The condition of the masses, however, still borders upon pauperism, and there is widespread misery due to the prevalence of unemployment. And even when there is work, wages average less than a dollar a day.

Special Privileges Enjoyed by Puerto Rico. — With an enormous over-population, only about half of the laborers of this agricultural island have work. In recognition of the poverty of the masses, Puerto Rico is not required to pay any taxes into the United States Treasury. Even the internal revenue collected in the United States on Puerto Rican products is turned into the Treasury of Puerto Rico.

Puerto Rico is periodically subject to terrible cyclones, earthquakes, and tidal waves, which would result in great suffering if it were not for relief voted by the Congress of the United States. And although Puerto Rico does not pay money into the Treasury of the United States, Congress has voted relief funds to the Island to be spent through the Puerto Rican Relief Administration.

In 1936 Puerto Rico was able to borrow \$1,000,000 in the United States at the low rate of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent per annum interest. On her exports to the United States, which enter untaxed, the shippers annually save from \$25,000,000 to \$50,000,000 in tariff duty. Puerto Rico also benefits much from protection given her crops by our Department of Agriculture.

Puerto Rico has internal and external protection by an army and navy supported by the United States, and Puerto Ricans may migrate to the United States freely for business or residence.

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Puerto Rico's Grievances against the United States. — "Had the people of Puerto Rico possessed the power of electing their governor, the selection of a man speaking a language not understood by our people would never have taken place," says the Puerto Rican Commissioner to the United States. Puerto Ricans want a locally elected governor and a cabinet appointed by him and confirmed by the local senate. They would also have all judges of the Supreme Court native Puerto Ricans, selected in a manner determined by the local legislature, and given the same jurisdiction as that of incorporated territories. The legislature desires power to impeach administrative officials.

The Puerto Ricans would like to be exempted from the laws passed by Congress to the same extent that the Philippine Islands were exempt. They complain that the United States tariff on raw food supplies makes many of them too expensive for the laboring population of Puerto Rico to buy. They further complain that the United States tariff fails to protect various Puerto Rican products which the United States does not produce and which therefore do not need protection in the United States. The Puerto Ricans also complain that their products to the United States must be shipped in United States vessels at high cost.

Before 1917, instead of an elected senate, Puerto Rico had an executive council appointed by the President of the United States. With this fact in mind, Antonio R. Barcelo, president of the Puerto Rican senate, made the following statement:¹ "Prior to 1917, so-called American interests . . . obtained such legislation as was necessary to organize their corporation system; roads were built along the coast where sugar mills stood, and such credit as we then had was exhausted by bond issues sold to carry out these improvements, which included the great south coast irrigation system constructed in benefit of the sugar industry. While these matters met with an easy reception in the upper house of the Legislature (the Executive Council), the door was closed to almost all legislation tending to favor our agriculture, and to extend education, sanitation, and road construction into the mountains, where the farmers of the interior of the island

¹ *Current History*, p. 271, May, 1928.

demand facilities for transportation of their products, and appropriate schoolhouses for their children. . . . Under this system our budgets never exceeded \$4,000,000, and taxation was always such as the above-mentioned interests wanted. The wise restriction enacted by Congress limiting acquisition of land by corporations to 500 acres, was scoffed at by them to the full knowledge of the Government. This was true to such an extent that the corporations practically became the owners of all the best farms in the island, thus displacing the small farmer and establishing throughout the country the most unbearable monopoly of all businesses and industries. . . .

"Dragging a few moneyed persons of the island after them, they plotted to avoid payment of taxes and to block new loans. In this way they created a deficit in our Treasury, which held us up on our march of progress.

"The condition thus caused has brought out clearly one of the most important financial problems confronting our people. While a chosen few grow richer and richer and gain absolute control of production and of business, both of which they control by the power of money, the majority of the people live in the direst need and abjection as day by day they watch the growth in Porto Rico of the feudal system of the Middle Ages, under which the great landholding lord was the arbiter of the lives and property of his serfs, who received but such mercies as their lord was willing to grant."

The Story of Albizu Campos. — "Albizu Campos was a schoolboy at Ponce not so many years ago, the son of a dark mother and a white father. Not until he was a young man did the father make personal acknowledgment of the paternity. But Pedro was a smart youngster, his schoolboy career was creditable, and he was regarded as a promising half-caste boy. Apparently his father took pride in the youth, and after some time at the University of Puerto Rico, funds were made available for him to enter Harvard."

At Harvard "he needed more money than the resources available from Ponce, and the University lent him money . . . to see him through as his scholarship justified. A Bachelor's

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degree, a Master's degree, and a Law degree seem to have been earned in residence. The notes he gave to Harvard for repayment of money loaned are said to be still in the dormant assets," but there are honorable men unable to pay their debts.

His followers state that at Harvard he earned a scholarship prize which entitled him to a trip to Europe to represent Harvard in an international gathering, but that "for a half-caste Puerto Rican to represent Harvard University in a world-competition was too much to permit. . . . Grieved and embittered, he returned to his island home with a new understanding of the American people and the United States !

"The story contains another detail based on the Albizu Campos experience in the World War. The United States had joined the Allies, and the young Puerto Rican offered himself for training as an officer. The camp where this would place him had none but white students. It was suggested that he should take his training in another camp and this he did, embittered by the color line thus drawn against him. He served with credit in the Negro regiment to which he was assigned, but he could not forgive or understand the slight he had undergone. This was the background behind him when he visioned a political career." ¹

His political career resulted in the creation of the Nationalist Party, which stood for the independence of Puerto Rico by force if necessary, and an unfortunate incident occurred which encouraged this movement. A doctor from the Rockefeller Institute who was stationed in an American-created hospital in Puerto Rico wrote the following horrible, and unjustified, letter (in jest) and dropped it into the waste basket :

"Puerto Rico would be ideal except for the Porto Ricans. They are, beyond doubt, the dirtiest, laziest, most degenerate and thievish race of men ever inhabiting this sphere. It makes you sick to inhabit the same island with them.
What the island needs is not public health work but a tidal wave or something to totally exterminate the population. It might then be

¹ This story is taken from the excellent book entitled "Puerto Rico and Its People," by Trumbull White, 1938.

livable. I have done my best to further the process of extermination by killing off eight and transplanting cancer into several more. The latter has not resulted in any fatalities so far. . . . The matter of consideration for the patients' welfare plays no role here — in fact all physicians take delight in the abuse and torture of the unfortunate subjects."

The Nationalist Party got hold of the letter and used it as evidence that the Americans were repeating in Puerto Rico the methods of extermination used against the Indians. Those who



SCHOOL OF TROPICAL MEDICINE, SAN JUAN

This school is conducted jointly by the University of Puerto Rico and Columbia University.

Cornell University has endowed the University of Puerto Rico with \$1,000,000 for research in tropical agriculture.

took the letter seriously were naturally wrought up, and in 1932 the Nationalist Party polled nearly 5000 votes.

The Nationalists drilled and some were found with bombs. Naturally conflict developed between them and the Insular Police composed of natives but headed by an American — Colonel E. F. Riggs. This chief of the Insular Police was personally popular with the Puerto Ricans, a Roman Catholic, and himself a believer in the ultimate independence of the Island. But after some weeks of excitement and emotional tension,

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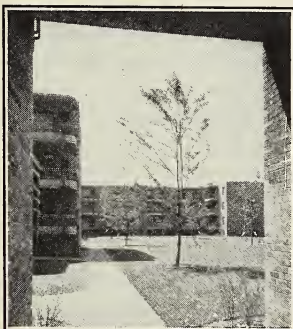
on Sunday morning, February 23, 1936, as Colonel Riggs was returning from church two young Nationalists shot and killed him. The youths were arrested ; but Puerto Rico does not have capital punishment and the boys thought they were heroes. However, the same day the police guards reported that the boys attempted to seize guns and make their escape, so the police shot and killed them. An undeclared feud between the Nationalists and Insular Police continued until Albizu, the instigator of the trouble, was sent by airplane to the Federal prison at Atlanta, Georgia.

Political Parties. — In the 1940 election the *Unification Party*, favoring statehood for the Island, received the backing of most of the Puerto Ricans. This party was formed by the merging of the Union Republican Party which had been associated with the Republican Party in the United States, the Socialist Party which has associated with American labor organizations, and the Liberal Party which had previously advocated home rule or independence by peaceful means. The *Nationalist Party* advocates complete independence, by forceful methods if necessary.

Statehood. — In 1940 the Puerto Rican Commissioner presented a petition to Congress asking statehood for Puerto Rico. Statehood would give the island a greater degree of self-government, but many taxes now retained by the territory would be paid into the treasury of the United States under statehood. In Congress there is great opposition to statehood because the Spanish-speaking Puerto Ricans have attitudes and problems differing from us Anglo-Saxons on the continent.

Home Rule. — All Puerto Rican political parties want more home rule for the Island. Several years ago Commissioner Santiago Iglesias introduced a bill in Congress providing for more home rule. The measure provided for the popular election of the governor, who would be a "resident" and who could "read and write the Spanish and English languages." The governor, with the consent of the Puerto Rican Senate, would appoint residents as heads of the administrative departments. The supreme court justices would also be appointed by the governor and local senate. The bill did not come to a vote.

Independence. — In 1936, when Albizu Campos and his Nationalists were creating such a disturbance in the Island, Senator Tydings introduced a bill into Congress providing independence for Puerto Rico in four years should the majority of Puerto Ricans vote in favor thereof. This proposal was untimely because the majority of Puerto Ricans had resented the extreme measures of the few Nationalists and did not want independence. But the proposal for independence by an



SLUMS IN PUERTO RICO ALONGSIDE MODERN P.W.A. LOW-COST HOMES IN CLEVELAND

American led them to believe that we did not appreciate the true situation and that we were merely selfishly trying to wash our hands of a problem which we had helped to create. The bill did not come to a vote.

The labor leaders of the Island consider their opportunity to better their positions greater under the American democracy than under the dominant wealthy Spanish families of the island which would govern a free Puerto Rico. The business interests of the Island — American and native — realize the business advantages of the American free market.

In the spring of 1939, a new Army and Navy Base was established on Puerto Rico, in order to help protect the Panama Canal.

VIRGIN ISLANDS

Acquisition. — The Virgin Islands ¹ — St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. John — are about forty miles east of Puerto Rico, and have a total area of only 138 square miles. In 1917 the United States paid Denmark \$25,000,000 for supremacy over these islands because of their strategic importance. They are on the way from Europe to the Panama Canal, and St. Thomas can be fortified and made an excellent port of anchorage. Many a filibustering expedition has been fitted out in this port, and during the Civil War and the Spanish-American War the United States navy felt the need of this spot as a coaling station. Moreover, the United States feared that Germany might acquire these islands from Denmark, which would have menaced the United States as policeman of the Caribbeans and would have brought us into direct conflict with Germany over such violation of our Monroe Doctrine.

The cost by the acre for the right to govern the Virgin Islands was \$295; for the Panama Canal Zone, about \$36;² for Alaska, two cents.

Character of Country. — The Island of St. Thomas is too hilly for agriculture, but it contains the excellent port of St. Thomas, where, before the days of the wireless, ships would stop for their cabled orders. Now it is merely a town of shopkeepers. St. John, the smallest island of the group, is a beautiful forest-clothed spot with only a few inhabitants. Its only important forest product, bay leaves, forms the basis of the bay rum industry of St. Thomas. St. Croix, the largest of the group, is almost entirely agricultural, and contains large sugar estates.

People. — The population of the Islands declined from 43,000 in 1835 to 26,000 in 1917. Many of the young Islanders have emigrated to the United States, and 1940 figures show a popula-

¹ Called "Virgin Islands" by Columbus after Saint Ursula and her eleven thousand virgins, because the islands were too numerous to name individually.

² This does not include the subsequent payment of \$25,000,000 to Colombia.

tion of only about 25,000. Of those, 2200 are whites, about 5500 are of mixed blood, and the remaining 17,000 are Negroes. Despite the Danish history of the Islands, the speech of the people is English.

Government. — Congress has vested all military, civil, and judicial powers necessary to govern the Virgin Islands in a civilian governor appointed by the President and Senate. In 1927 the Islanders were given full citizenship by the United States. Universal suffrage, which took the place of a required economic status that had limited suffrage to only 10 per cent of the population, was instituted in 1938. An Organic Act in 1936 gave the Islanders democratic control of the local legislative councils which until then had been part elected and part appointed by the governor. The new rights have changed the Islanders from a feeling of neglect to a forward-looking attitude. They still desire a resident commissioner in Washington.

Products exchanged between the United States and the Virgin Islands are not subject to customs duty, but there is an internal revenue tax, paid to the country into which the commodity is imported. An export tax of \$6 a ton on sugar sent to the United States, and income taxes at the same rate as in the United States, are paid into the local treasury and form a chief source of revenue. Trade between the United States and the Islands must be carried in American ships as soon as facilities are provided.

Recent Improvements. — The importance of the port of St. Thomas declined with the invention of the wireless and the opening of the Panama Canal because ships are now refueled in the Canal Zone instead of at St. Thomas as formerly. Because of this loss of shipping the Islands have been in poverty and the Congress of the United States was obliged to make an annual appropriation to supplement the limited revenues. Improved harbor and modern dock facilities have been completed, and tourist cruises already are making regular stops.

A federally financed corporation, the Virgin Islands Company, has been developed which it is hoped in time will make the Islands self-supporting and enable it to pay off the original

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corporation loan. Sugar production and housing programs have already made vast strides towards improving the economic condition. Homesteading of small acreages has proved financially sound since 1932.

Tourist resorts have been built on all three Islands. An equable climate with the refreshing trade winds blowing constantly and temperatures never below 64° nor above 96° have made the Islands ideal for vacation lands. Both private and government funds have been used to build facilities that will provide for the increasing tourist trade. Regular air transportation is also available, and frequent ships come throughout the year.

Education, sanitation, and hospital facilities have been provided through government aid. The health service has eliminated malaria and other tropical disease so that now the health conditions are excellent. The United States Navy and the United States Marine Corps both have airports.

PANAMA CANAL ZONE

Acquisition. — In 1902 Congress authorized President Roosevelt to construct a canal through the Isthmus of Panama if the consent of Colombia could be obtained and if the rights of the French company which had partly dug the canal could be acquired for \$40,000,000.¹ The French company agreed to accept \$40,000,000 but Colombia would not accept terms which President Roosevelt thought just. So the United States was ready to turn to a Nicaraguan route. Panama, then a part of Colombia, deplored the loss of the canal; the French company deplored the loss of the \$40,000,000; and Roosevelt preferred

¹ A French company formed by De Lesseps, who had organized the Suez Canal Company, began the Canal in 1882. During seven years it spent and squandered \$300,000,000, and then collapsed with less than a third of the work done. An effort was made to obtain aid from the French government by offering bribes to members of Parliament, but this was exposed and failed. De Lesseps and others were sentenced to prison for fraud in 1893. The French company here referred to was formed in 1894, and continued work of varying extent until it sold to the United States Government.



THE PANAMA CANAL

Water is supplied by the Chagres River (at the right), where a great dam stores water for the dry season.

A new single channel is being constructed to parallel the existing twin-channel, to insure passage in case a bomb hits some lock.

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the Panama route. Therefore Panama organized a revolt from Colombia, which the French company financed. President Roosevelt recognized the independence of the Republic of Panama in two days and prevented its reconquest by Colombia.

According to arrangement Panama commissioned this French agent to prepare an agreement with the United States for leasing a zone within which the canal should be completed, and in 1904 a treaty containing the following provisions was proclaimed :

(1) The Republic of Panama granted to the United States in perpetuity the use, occupation, and control of a zone ten miles wide for a canal and railroad, with all the rights, power, and authority which the United States would possess if it were sovereign of the territory. But the cities and harbors of Panama and Colón were not included in the grant.

(2) Panama agreed that the cities of Panama and Colón should comply in perpetuity with sanitary ordinances prescribed by the United States, and that the United States might intervene if necessary to enforce them. The United States might also maintain public order in these cities in case Panama, in the judgment of the United States, were unable to do so.

(3) The United States agreed to pay Panama \$10,000,000 plus \$250,000 annually for the above rights. (See p. 69, Ques. 12.)

(4) The United States agreed that the government of Panama might transport its vessels, troops, and munitions of war, police force, and government employees without paying charges of any kind.

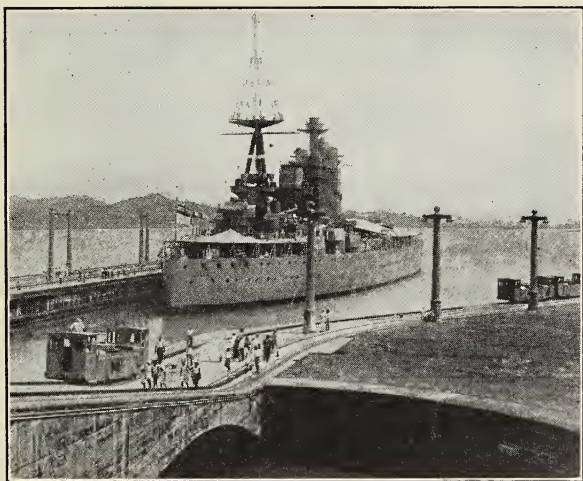
(5) The United States agreed that "The Canal shall be free and open to the vessels of commerce and of war of all nations on terms of entire equality." These nations must observe rules substantially like those embodied in the Convention for the Navigation of the Suez Canal.

The citizens of Colombia felt bitter towards the United States because she assisted Panama in gaining her independence. After numerous fruitless efforts to conciliate Colombia, both by those who wanted the friendship of Colombia and those who wanted concessions, a treaty was finally proclaimed in 1922 with the following provisions :

(1) Colombia recognized the independence of the Republic of Panama.

(2) The United States paid \$25,000,000 to Colombia.

(3) The United States granted Colombia the right to transport its troops, materials, and ships of war without paying any charges to the United States, except when Colombia is at war with another nation.



BRITISH BATTLESHIP *NELSON* AT PEDRO MIGUEL LOCKS

This 33,500-ton ship is to be drawn through the Locks by cables from three electric mules on each side. Note three of them.

(4) The United States granted the right to citizens, products, and the mails of Colombia to pass through the Canal exempt from any charge or duty other than those to which the citizens, products, and mails of the United States are subject.

Canal Tolls. — In 1912 the President of the United States was authorized to determine the rate of toll to be charged vessels using the Canal. He placed on merchant vessels carrying passengers or cargo the rate of \$1.20 a net ton — each 100 cubic

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feet of actual earning capacity.¹ Vessels in ballast without passengers receive a 40 per cent reduction. Naval vessels and certain other public vessels of the United States, Panama, and Colombia do not pay tolls.

Only vessels flying the United States flag could carry passengers or freight from one port of the United States to another; and the law of 1912 provided that these coastwise vessels could pass through the Canal without having to pay toll. England objected to this exemption because in the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty of 1902 we agreed that commercial vessels of all nations should pass through the Canal on terms of equality. Upon the request of President Wilson, Congress repealed the law exempting American coastwise vessels, and today the merchant vessels of the United States pay the same toll as that paid by those of other countries. Normally, about half of the tolls are collected from United States coastwise vessels.

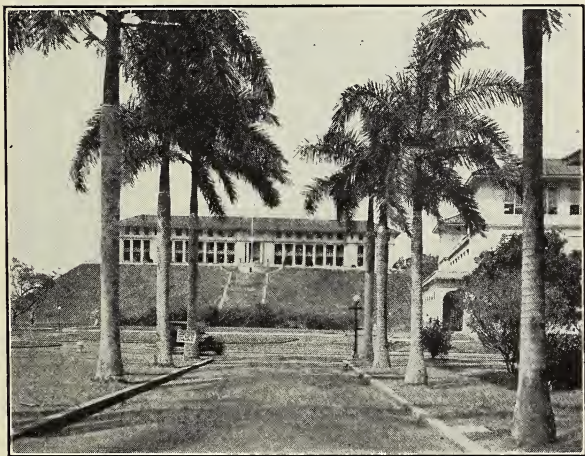
The cost of constructing the Canal was about \$300,000,000, and 20-odd millions in annual tolls would be enough to pay for it were it not for defense. It costs more than all the tolls to pay the thousands of soldiers that guard it, and we have spent or authorized the expenditure of \$600,000,000 for defense, including \$277,000,000 for a new set of channel-locks. The new channel will be connected by laterals to permit detour if bombs injure the locks.

Government. — The permanent government of the Canal Zone was provided for by Act of Congress in 1912. The government is placed in the hands of the President of the United States. With the consent of the Senate he appoints a governor and a judge of the District Court for the term of four years, and without the consent of the Senate he appoints other officials for indefinite terms. Justices for local courts and other minor officials are appointed by the governor. The Zone is governed in accordance with executive orders issued by the President, there being no legislature.

¹ The average cost for bulk cargoes is approximately 65 cents for a ton of 2240 pounds. The lowest cost by the ton has been 26 cents on cargo carriers heavily laden with iron ore.

Because of the President's influence in the governing of the Canal Zone, it has been called the "crown colony." The Secretary of War represents the President in the administration of Canal affairs.

Such functions as quarantine, customs inspection, postal service, steamship inspection, lighthouse service, and liquor law enforcement are dissociated from the departments in Washington



ADMINISTRATION BUILDING, BALBOA HEIGHTS, CANAL ZONE

and are handled by the governor of the Canal Zone. He also controls police and fire services, jails, the penitentiary, and schools; and he sees to the enforcement of health and sanitation regulations within the Canal Zone and the cities of Panama and Colón.

The governor of the Canal Zone is also governor of the Canal, and in this capacity he superintends various services which are auxiliary to the operation of the canal. Ship supplies are sold; hotels, commissaries, restaurants, ice plants, a bakery, a laundry, and an abattoir are operated for the benefit of the employees; and even plantations and a dairy farm are maintained to insure

OUTLINE OF TERRITORIES AND OTHER DEPENDENCIES OF THE UNITED STATES

	HAWAII	ALASKA	PHILIPPINES	PUERTO RICO	VIRGIN ISLANDS	CANAL ZONE
Constitutional Relationship	Incorporated	Incorporated	Not incorpo- rated	Not incorpo- rated	Not incorpo- rated	Not incorpo- rated
Legal Status of Inhabitants	Citizens of U. S.	Citizens of U. S.	Nationals. Owe allegiance and get protection	Citizens of U. S.	Citizens of U. S.	Citizens of U. S.
Coastwise Laws	Apply	Apply	Do not apply	Apply	Suspended by order of Pres.	Do not apply
Representation in Congress	Delegate with seat. No vote	Delegate with seat. No vote	Resident Commissioner	Commissioner. Debate privilege. No vote	Not repre- sented	Not repre- sented
Administrative Department	Interior	Interior	War	Interior	Pres. through Sec. of Interior	Pres. through Sec. of War
Local Legislature	Two houses	Two houses	Two houses	Two houses	Two councils	None
Governor appointed by President and Senate	Citizen of Hawaii	American	American called "High Commissioner"	American	American	U. S. army officer
Governor's Veto ¹	Overcome by two-thirds vote	Overcome by two-thirds vote		Overcome by two-thirds vote ²	Final if ap- proved by Pres.	No legislature

¹ Any law of these dependencies can be changed by Congress because it is supreme over them, except where restricted by the United States Constitution.

² If the legislature passes a bill over the governor's veto in Puerto Rico, the governor may refer it to the President of the United States for final approval or disapproval.

wholesome food. The Panama Railroad owned by the United States is operated by the governor, and is self-sustaining. The governor is also president of the Panama Railroad Steamship Line, which plies between the Canal Zone and New York. It is owned by the United States and carries employees and supplies for the government at reduced rates. If regular rates were charged for all government hauling, the small operating deficit would be wiped out.

In 1940 the civil and military population of the Canal Zone was 51,827. Of these 32,390 were United States citizens. There were over 5000 white employees and about 19,000 natives.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Describe the shape of Puerto Rico. How watered? Number, color, and density of population?
2. Explain how the Constitution does not necessarily follow the flag.
3. Describe the composition of the Puerto Rican legislature. Powers?
4. How is the governor of Puerto Rico chosen?
5. Is the judiciary of Puerto Rico Spanish or American in form and law?
6. Compare the Puerto Rican Commissioner with the American Congressman.
7. How have we favored Puerto Rico in the local use of taxes?
8. Explain how Puerto Rican trade has increased under the American régime.
9. Is Puerto Rican education in Spanish or English? How many children of school age are out of school?
10. Explain financial advantages to Puerto Rico as an American territory.
11. What are Puerto Rico's grievances against the United States?
12. Relate the story of Albizu Campos.
13. Describe the political parties of Puerto Rico.
14. Why is Puerto Rico not likely to obtain statehood at once? Should it have home rule at once? What Puerto Ricans favor independence?
15. Explain why and how we acquired the Virgin Islands. (The character of the country. The nature of the government. The present attitude of the Islands towards the United States.)
16. Explain how we acquired the Panama Canal Zone. How much toll is charged? How much revenue is derived? Describe the government.

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PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION

1. When Governor Allen served in Puerto Rico he described it as a place "where a man can lie in a hammock, pick a banana with one hand and dig a sweet potato with one foot." Explain the effects of such a friendly climate upon the ambition of the inhabitants.

2. In a hundred years the population of Puerto Rico has increased from about 200,000 to 1,800,000, and sanitary science has greatly reduced the death rate. So the insular legislature has passed legislation encouraging birth-control. Many Puerto Ricans oppose the law, claiming that improved scientific agriculture can feed more inhabitants, that food can be imported from adjacent islands if the United States lowers the tariff, and that surplus population can migrate to neighboring less-populated islands or to the United States. Would you have voted for the birth-control law?

3. President Franklin Roosevelt was instrumental in sending 200 school teachers to Puerto Rico to teach English to Puerto Rican children in their Spanish-speaking schools. Should we encourage the substitution of English for Spanish? Should we encourage English as the second language? Should the United States pay for the teaching of English if the Island is unwilling or unable to do so?

4. In one year the city of Mayaguez exported \$20,000,000 worth of embroidery. Most of it is done in factories operated by Puerto Rican women on materials supplied by New York firms who market the needlework in the United States. Why are women becoming important in industry all over the world?

In 1938 the United States law providing minimum wages of 25 cents an hour adversely affected the needlework industry as most of the firms cannot afford to pay this wage. The Puerto Rican Labor Commissioner said: "The medicine is too strong for the patient," and it was estimated that 100,000 would lose their jobs in this and the tobacco industries. Do you think that Congress should exempt Puerto Rico from this law?

5. In Puerto Rico the Roosevelt administration through the Puerto Rican Relief Administration has built a cement plant, several sugar centrals, power plants, and rehousing projects. Do you favor our encouragement of such co-operative enterprises for the Island?

6. The Joint Resolution approved by Congress in 1900 and the Organic Act of 1917 restrict a "corporation hereafter authorized to engage in agriculture" to the ownership and control of not more than 500 acres of land. In 1935 a concurrent resolution of the legislature of Puerto Rico requested Congress to authorize the legislature of Puerto Rico to levy a progressive tax on lands in excess of 500 acres, possessed or exploited by corporations, entities directly or indirectly subsidiary thereto or affiliated therewith, or on any natural or artificial person,

directly or indirectly possessing or obtaining lands for the benefit of the corporation. Would you, as a Congressman, favor or oppose this request? Why?

7. Some Puerto Ricans want home rule, some want statehood, some want independence with tariff reciprocity for the exchange of products, and others want unconditional independence. If you were a Puerto Rican mechanic, which plan would you probably favor? If you were a sugar plantation owner? One of the governing class of the Island?

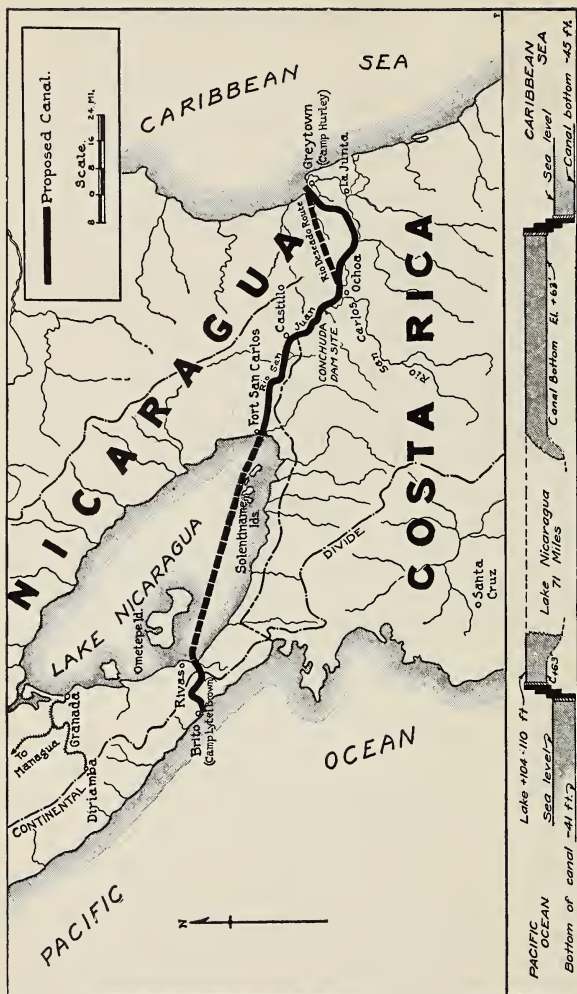


MAP OF CENTRAL AMERICA

What attitude would an American owner of a sugar plantation in Puerto Rico be likely to take? An American who owns a sugar plantation in Hawaii?

8. The New York State Chamber of Commerce questions the desirability of large numbers of Puerto Ricans moving to New York. Would statehood or independence permit the United States to regulate this migration?

9. After his visit to the Virgin Islands, March 25, 1931, President Hoover, in a formal statement, said: "When we paid \$25,000,000 for them we acquired an effective poorhouse, comprising 90 per cent of the population. The people cannot be self-supporting either in living or government without the discovery of new methods and resources. Viewed from every point except remote naval contingencies it was unfortunate that we ever acquired these islands. Nevertheless, having



NICARAGUAN CANAL ROUTE RECOMMENDED BY ENGINEERS OF THE ARMY ENGINEER CORPS

assumed the responsibility we must do our best to assist the inhabitants." Do you agree with this view?

10. The Panamanians claim that the spirit, if not the letter, of the Panama Canal Treaty is being violated through the operation by the United States Government of general stores (commissaries) in the Canal Zone. They allege that huge amounts of goods, which come from the United States to the Canal Zone free of duty, are smuggled into Panama and into Colón. As the Panama Republic derives its main income from customs duties, the country's revenue as well as the merchants' natural trade is seriously affected. Should we discontinue these commissaries?

11. If charges at commercial rates had been made against the 563 public vessels of the United States that went through the Canal without payment of tolls in one year, the revenue from tolls would have been increased by more than \$1,000,000 during the year.

The British battle cruiser *Hood* paid \$22,399 for Canal toll. The S.S. *Empress of Scotland*, while making a tour around the world, paid \$17,211 toll.

Enumerate the items of saving to a freight vessel in passing through the Canal instead of going around South America.

12. In 1933 Congress declared all money of the United States to be legal tender, and required creditors to accept it even in the payment of debts previously contracted and made payable in gold dollars of a certain weight and fineness. In 1934 the President, under authority of Congress, reduced the gold dollar to 59.06 per cent of its former weight.

The United States had agreed to pay Panama Republic \$250,000 a year in gold dollars of the original weight, so Panama asked for gold coin, as specified under the treaty, and by 1939 we agreed to pay \$430,000 annually. Should we pay in gold as agreed or in the devalued dollars? Panama Republic was indebted to New York bankers and could pay this debt in devalued dollars. Does this fact have any bearing on Panama's right to demand from the United States Government gold coins of the original weight? Was Panama's good will worth the difference?

13. In 1916 Nicaragua entered into a treaty with the United States granting us the exclusive right in perpetuity to build an inter-oceanic canal through Nicaragua. In 1931 the cost of the route shown on the map on page 68 was estimated at \$722,000,000. In 1939 a bill was introduced in Congress proposing the construction of this canal. Ships between the eastern and western coasts could save a day by using this canal instead of the Panama Canal. But the main argument is to have the canal available in time of war in case the Panama Canal is put out of commission by an earthquake, enemy bombs from airplanes, or the sinking of an enemy ship in a lock at the outbreak of war.

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A third set of locks is being built by the Panama route for \$277,000,000. A Panama Canal could be made at sea-level throughout



NEW LOCKS FOR THE PANAMA
CANAL

its entire length for an estimated \$1,000,000,000. Either of these changes will accommodate the largest vessels afloat—a few of which are too large to pass through the present Panama Canal. If you had had an opportunity to vote on these alternatives which would you have voted for, or would you have voted against all of them?

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CHAPTER IV

BACKGROUNDS FOR AN UNDERSTANDING OF MEXICO

Geography. — Mexico is about three times the size of Texas. It is a high triangular plateau between two mountain chains, one of which runs parallel to the Gulf of Mexico and the other to the Pacific Ocean. This high plateau is dry and bare in its northern part and has been devoted chiefly to cattle raising. The southern part of the plateau is less dry and more fertile, and this is the cereal region.

The Gulf slope, damp and hot, is rich for tropical agriculture and contains extensive oil fields. The Pacific slope, dry and hot but well irrigated from the mountains, will become an important agricultural region. Yucatan, a stony desert which has been able to produce only hemp, is out of the main body of Mexico, like Lower California. The mountain chains constitute the mining regions.

On the Mexican plateau the nights are always cool and the temperature drops below the freezing point in winter. All through the summer Mexico City, with its seven thousand feet elevation, is cooler than New York or Chicago. The mornings and evenings are cool. At midday it is usually hot but there is a great difference in the temperature between the sunny side and the shady side of the street. Only dogs and Americans take the sunny side, the Mexicans say. Between the plateau and the low country which is hot during all seasons, both day and night, is a temperate country where little clothing is needed, unless during a "norther" — a cold wind which sometimes lasts a week.

People. — Before the Spanish conquest hundreds of indigenous races of distinct and opposite characteristics existed in Mexico, and today there are many tribes of Indians speaking scores of dialects. After the conquest a mestizo (mixed) popula-



tion began to appear, and it is still continuing and modifying its development day by day. But the population has not merged into a national type with characteristics different from those of the Indian, or different from those of the white. There is a varying mixed population, which in certain strata is very near to the Indian, and in others cannot be distinguished from the white. Today the whites mix freely with mestizos, and the latter with Indians. As soon as the Indian has been educated he takes his rank by the side of the mestizo.

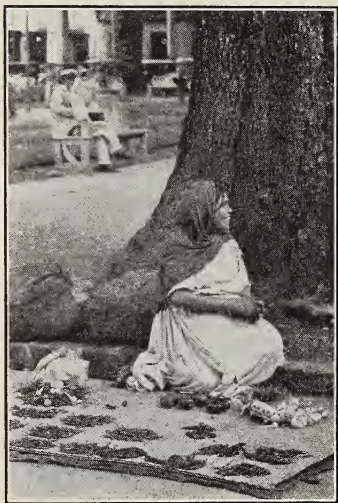


BRIDE OF A POOR RURAL MEXICAN BOY

Of the white immigrants to Mexico the Spaniard nearly always blends with the native, so that after a generation it may be said that all the Spaniards become Mexicans. The same thing might be said of the Italians and immigrants of Semitic origin — the Arabians, Armenians, etc. After the Spaniard and the Italian, the German assimilates best, and becomes Mexican in two generations. The German frequently marries a Mexican woman and settles permanently in the country. The French comes after the German, regarding the facility of blending. The English immigrant rarely becomes Mexican. Hardly ever does he marry a Mexican woman and his children are always educated abroad.

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Most of the American immigrants who settle permanently in Mexico and marry Mexican women preserve their American citizenship and educate their children in the United States. And it may be said that 95 per cent of American immigrants remain always American — socially, politically, and ethnically.



MEXICAN WOMAN IN THE MARKET
PLACE

Thus Americans should understand why Mexicans look upon them as undesirable aliens.

Of the nineteen million inhabitants of Mexico about 11,000,000 are mestizos, 5,000,000 Indians, and 3,000,000 Caucasians. Eighty-five per cent of the population can speak some Spanish, but only about half of the adults can read any language.

Social Conditions. — After the Spanish conquest the Indian population became enslaved. Later, through the efforts of the Spanish friars to protect the aboriginal races of

Mexico, the Indians ceased being slaves only to fall into a condition of legal incapacity — peonage.

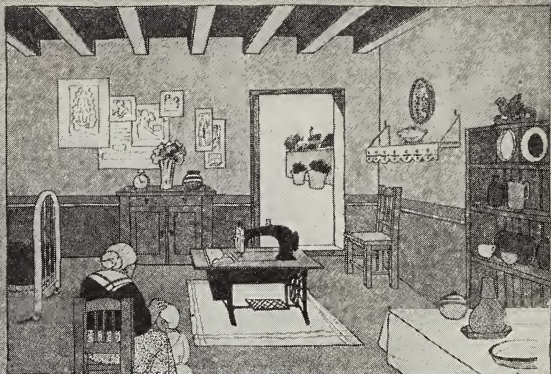
According to the constitutions all labor has been free in Mexico since the establishment of the republic (1824), but the desire of employers to make the unambitious Indian work led to various practices having the economic effect of slavery. One of these practices, known as peonage, was to bind a laborer by a long-term contract. Under this practice an employee was not free to leave so long as he owed his employer money. As the estates maintained stores, the laborers were always in debt. Any employer could sell his claims to their labor to another, and

they would thus come under the control of another creditor. Some employers, when they had a surplus of labor, would farm out their laborers to work. Perhaps a labor agent would come along and take families to work in regions where the death rate demanded a constant renewal of labor supply. When there was no work for the peon he was sent adrift.¹

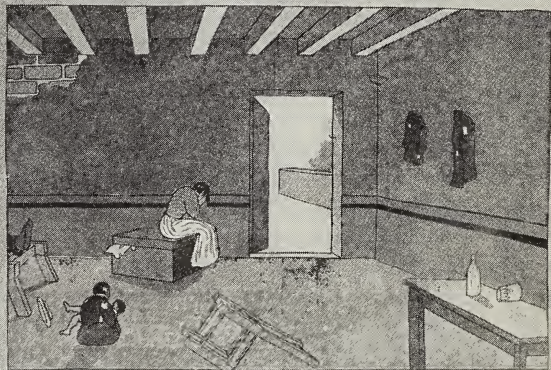
The Mexican peon lives in a mud hut without any pretensions to comfort, cooks his food outside, is clothed in cotton, and wears sandals. At twenty the woman has begun to fade, and at thirty she retains scarcely a trace of her beauty. This is due to hard labor and deprivations. Most Mexican girls are married by the time they are fourteen.

Although the system of peonage has been largely replaced by more modern methods through the efforts of organized labor, many of the old customs of peonage still are fairly common. For centuries the peasants were paid every evening for their day's work, and it is still a common sight to see a long line of laborers waiting for their day's earnings each evening. The

¹ A pathetic picture of the peon was given in 1919 by E. Trowbridge in the following words: "Frequently the peon, finding no work in the neighborhood, would start across country on foot, taking his family and household possessions with him. It has always been a pathetic sight to see these Indians on the move — the father carrying, on his back, a bundle holding all the family possessions — one or two blankets, a kettle, a couple of pans, and one or two bits of pottery — one or two tots, wearing shirts which had once been white, toddling along; the mother, with her youngest swung in a shawl on her back, pattering along in short, dog-like steps; all silent, pushing forward with no particular objective save a general idea of finding work; stopping at the first stream to make a bush fire and cook a few corn cakes for a meal; rolling up together, under the stars, for the night — and on again the next day. Travel on any road in Mexico and you keep meeting, out in the open country, group after group like this, until you become hopelessly depressed. Fortunately, they are used to it, and take everything as a matter of fact. When you greet them you will always receive a pleasant 'buenos dias, señor,' in reply, and the women will usually show their teeth as they smile. But the children, poor things, are always solemn. It is the way of Mexican children. Their expressive brown eyes gaze at you solemnly, somewhat shyly, and you never know whether they are happy or hungry. One of the things that always strikes the stranger in Mexico is that the children never seem to play. They stand or sit in doorways like a part of the fixed stage settings, half naked, dirty, silent." — "Mexico Today and Tomorrow," p. 108. 1919.



EL TRABAJADOR SOBRIO TIENE HOGAR. SU FAMILIA VIVE FELIZ.



EL BORRACHO CAUSA LA RUINA DE SU FAMILIA.

POSTER CIRCULATED BY THE MEXICAN DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

Above: The sober man has a home and his family lives happily.

Below: The drunkard causes the ruin of his family.

women go to market daily to purchase the supply of food for just that day's meals.

Aztec Culture and Religion. — The Indian civilization of Mexico at the time of the Spanish Conquest was on a much higher level than that of many of the Indian tribes farther north, and should not be thought of as savage. Weaving, masonry, metal work, astronomy, mathematics, writing, even including a native literature, agriculture that relied upon some irrigation, and a city-state type of government were all found in the Aztec and Toltec civilizations early in the sixteenth century.

The religion of the Indians was important in the life of the people. As some of the Aztec religion had elements similar to the Christian teachings, the transition, after the Spanish Conquest, from the native religion to the Catholic was rather rapid, but many of the old superstitions and customs were carried over into the Christian worship. The priests gave protection to the Indians from the unscrupulous Spanish leaders. This influence of the church over the cultural life of the people continued unhampered for three centuries.

The Conflict between Church and State. — As an organization the Catholic Church opposed the revolution in 1810 which set up the republic independent of Spain, believing that it was emancipating the child from its mother's apron strings before it could walk. It correctly prophesied that this revolution would be mother to many revolutions.

The revolution of 1857 resulted in the separation of church and state, and in the confiscation of \$62,000,000 worth of church property, including hospitals, schools, colleges, lands, houses, and invested funds. These properties fell into the hands of corrupt leaders, and the government realized from all these properties only about \$2,000,000.

The revolution of 1910 produced the Constitution of 1917. It forbids the legal existence of a religious society. It confiscates all that the church had accumulated since the revolution of 1857. The church is forbidden to own anything — even the buildings in which public worship is held; and it cannot

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raise money outside of the church building. A priest or nun cannot teach in a primary school, and cannot teach religion even in a higher institution of learning. The church is not permitted to own seminaries for training priests, notwithstanding the fact that only native-born priests may officiate at any act of worship.

No college under private control may give a degree recognized by the state. Church hospitals and orphanages have been confiscated. No religious publication may comment upon the



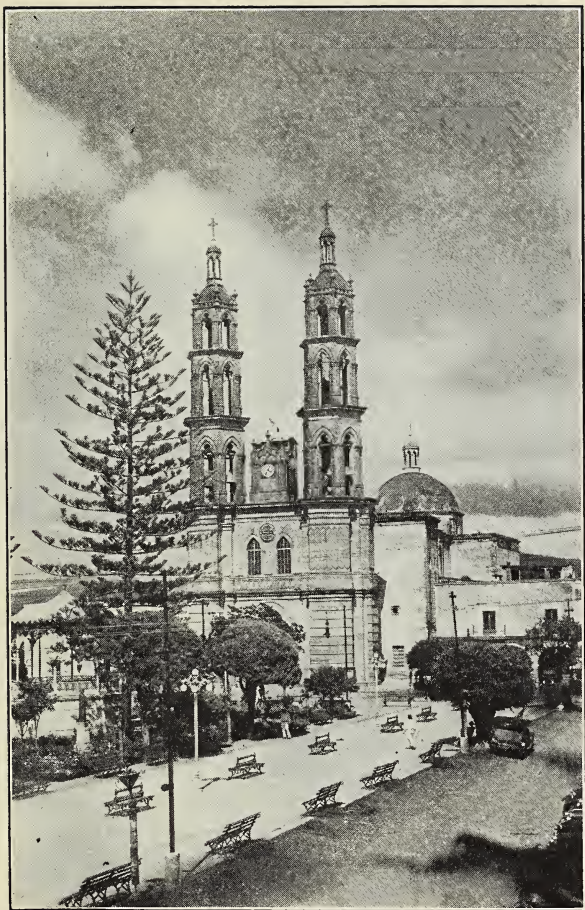
Galloway

CATHEDRAL AT MEXICO CITY

public affairs of the nation; nor may a priest criticize the fundamental laws of the country, the authorities in particular, or the government in general. Priests are not allowed to vote or hold office.

And "no trial by jury shall ever be granted for the infraction of any of the preceding provisions," according to the Constitution.

The restrictions placed upon the church by the Constitution of 1917 are excessive, irksome, discriminatory, and unjust. But "the way for the church to strengthen itself in Mexico," says Ernest Gruening, "is not by stooping to battle but by rising above the battle. The way to intrench itself is by service. If



CATHEDRAL AT TEPIC

80 Backgrounds for Understanding Mexico

the field of that service now appears unduly circumscribed let it at least deeply plow and harrow that field. The opportunities

there are still immeasurable."

From the Mexican government's standpoint the Mexican church has been persistently obstructionist, blocking lay education, blocking agrarian reform, misusing its power by invoking supernaturalism, and remaining medieval. Therefore the pendulum of repression has swung far the other way.

The revolutionists accuse the priesthood of having exploited the poor, but where the priests have harvested centavos the politicians have stolen pesos.

If people of the United States criticize the Mexican church they must remember that our churches had to work only among people who had inherited Christianity in Europe. But the Mexican church faced the problem of civi-



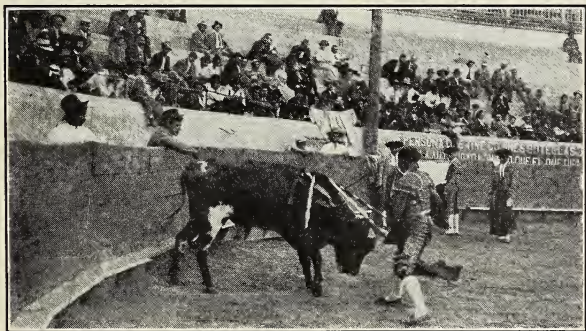
MODERN RELIGIOUS ART

lizing and Christianizing a native pagan population.

The government has converted most church edifices into secular schools and other institutions; the Supreme Court has held that private buildings in which Catholic ceremonies are held become public property; and Congress has provided for compulsory socialistic education. The Catholics accuse the

government of trying to deal a death blow to moral education, to conscience, and to the family.

Amusements of the Mexican People. — Cock-fighting and bullfights similar to those held in Spain and the use of intoxicating liquor were the traditional pleasures of the Mexicans before the recent reform governments attempted to replace them by athletics as played in the United States. In December,



BULLFIGHT IN JUAREZ, MEXICO

1937, 63,760 went to bullfights; 31,934 to prize fights and wrestling matches; 10,897 to football games; 11,645 to handball games; 14,649 to baseball games; 185,917 to playhouses; and over two million to moving-picture places.

Travel in Mexico. — With the recent development of the highways of Mexico it is now possible for visitors to Mexico to drive their own cars deep into southern Mexico. The roads between the chief cities and from Laredo, Texas, to Mexico City are excellent and well taken care of. Banditry, which used to be one of the fears of tourists, is practically unknown — probably there is no more than in the United States — and tourists to Mexico City are welcomed. The 772 miles from the Texas border to Mexico City can easily be driven in two days. Numerous side trips are possible and will lead the visitor through tropical regions lush with vegetation, or along the vivid deserts. Travel in Mexico is not expensive; hotel

and food accommodations in the cities are plentiful and good. On completion of the Pan American Highway it will be pos-

sible to travel from Alaska into South America by automobile.

Education under the Social Revolution. — Even with the vast expenditures that the Mexican government has made for schools in the last decade, a survey in 1939 indicated that there still is about 65% illiteracy in Mexico. Under such a handicap the government

has been building schools, educating teachers, and fostering a strong national program to educate the masses. The 1935 Educational Plan specified that a socialistic education be compulsory. Each child, as well as adults who find time to attend school, is taught to read and write, to tend a patch of garden if the school is in a rural area, or to do some type of manual labor. Much stress is placed on the latter training so that each child will learn to become self-sufficient rather than to become a burden on society. Regular lectures against alcoholism, and an interest in politics are common in the schools. Discipline is lax, and some educators believe that too much attention is paid to the whims of the pupils, who in the past have been urged by agitators to go on strikes to get their wishes. Such disturbances make it quite difficult to carry on a strong school program.



Courtesy Current Events

THE PAN AMERICAN HIGHWAY

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Describe the climate of the Gulf slope of Mexico; the Pacific slope; Yucatan; the high plateau; Mexico City.
2. Describe the population of Mexico: the Indians, the whites, and the mestizos.
3. Which races intermarry with the Indians and mestizos, and which do not?
4. In Mexico who are looked upon as undesirable aliens?

5. Has Mexico or Canada the largest population? (See Chapter X.)
6. Describe the peon as he existed at the beginning of this century.
7. What were the old diversions of Mexico? The new diversions?
8. Does Ernest Gruening say the restrictions placed upon the Church are just or unjust? How does he think the Church should respond?
9. The Catholics of Mexico believed that the Government under the Revolution was trying to deal the Church a death blow to what three things?
10. What is the chief highway between the United States and Mexico City?
11. What is the estimated per cent of illiteracy in Mexico?

PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Considering the composition of the population of Mexico, should we be impatient with their slow progress towards the democratic and financial standards attained by the United States?
2. If you were a Mexican, for what reasons might you feel unkindly towards the United States?
3. In the United States there is much race prejudice, while in Mexico there is very little. Which nation do you consider to have attained the higher degree of civilization in this respect? Are people who have never been away from home or those with much travel experience and culture most likely to have race prejudices?

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EMPRESS CARLOTTA, WIFE OF EMPEROR
MAXIMILIAN OF MEXICO

After ruling Mexico three years as Emperor, Maximilian was overthrown and executed. Carlotta had gone to Europe in vain hope of gaining assistance for her husband, and, through the terrible anxiety and disappointment, became hopelessly insane. She lived to a ripe old age in a castle assigned to her in Belgium, under the hallucination that she was still ruling as a great empress.

CHAPTER V

MEXICO'S SOCIAL REVOLUTION AND RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES

The Republic of Mexico. — Mexico declared herself independent of Spain in 1810, when the mother country was prostrate because of the Napoleonic wars; and the constitution which was adopted in 1824 created the federal republic of Mexico. This constitution was modeled after that of the United States.

The Monroe Doctrine, which was announced in President Monroe's message to Congress in 1823, prevented the reconquest of Mexico by Spain. Again, in 1867, this policy of the United States caused the withdrawal of the French army which had established a throne in Mexico for Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian of Austria. With the exception of three years, when Maximilian ruled Mexico, the government has been nominally a republic.

Revolutions. — In the words of Dr. Moises Saenz: "Mexico has been a country of revolutions. The military uprising has been a frequent recourse for the 'outs' to get in. It is the effort of a class to keep up army rule and privilege. On the other hand," continues Dr. Saenz, "there have been three veritable revolutions caused by the stirring of the people to assert their rights: the one of 1810 was to secure independence from Spanish rule; that of 1857, signaling the shattering of church rule; and the one of 1910, which, as far as it can be characterized by one all-comprising trait, might be said to represent the reclamation of the masses and the social organization of Mexico. In a sense these three revolutions represent aspects of one great movement — political liberty, spiritual liberty, economic and social liberty."

President Díaz. — When General Porfirio Díaz became Presi-

dent of Mexico, the country had been suffering from the effects of years of misrule by unscrupulous dictators. He ruled Mexico from 1876 to 1911, with the exception of one term (1880-1884). He developed the riches of his country, but did not develop his people.

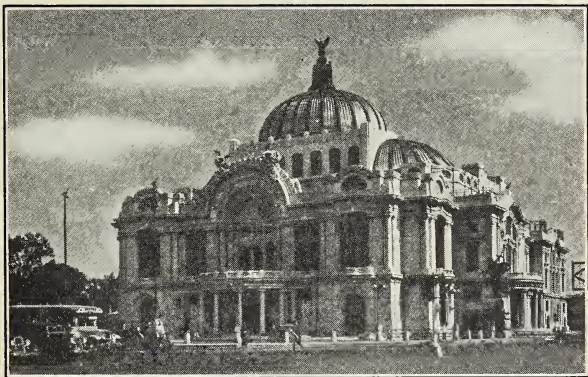
Díaz devised a political system whereby each community had a political chief who was responsible to the state governor. The chief gave advice to the Indians, helped settle their disputes, collected the taxes, and a good chief was often fatherly to them. At election times the polling booth was usually the chief's office, and it was not customary to vote unless asked to do so by the chief. Therefore, by the use of an extensive secret service, Díaz was able to put down any incipient rebellion and to retain the presidency for himself until he was eighty-odd years of age.

The government under Díaz was really a self-perpetuating oligarchy, legalized by a constitution and supported by a congress. It was actually "boss rule," and if any signs of opposition developed, as much of the machine as necessary was set to work to grind it out of existence.

To induce outside capital to build railroads and develop the country industrially, Díaz had to offer special inducements. The years of political trouble in Mexico had made outside capitalists timid. So liberal concessions, high tariffs, and exemptions from taxation for periods as long as 99 years were necessary. For instance, the high tariff duty on the importation of cotton enabled the wealthy Mexicans who grew cotton to charge more for their cotton, and it enabled the manufacturer to charge more for the cotton cloth, but it did not increase the wages of the peons because labor was plentiful; but the peon had to pay much more for his cotton clothes. It was so with much of the industrial development. The profits were made either by foreign capitalists or by a few wealthy Mexicans.

Exclusive privileges were granted people of influence, such as for slaughterhouses or for the sale of pulque, the national beverage. A truck farmer with a capital of 150 pesos frequently paid a larger tax than the richest lord baron of the region because he was without political rights.

A census taken in 1910 showed that in Mexico six thousand of the largest landholders possessed an average of 58,000 acres. The government had permitted the owners of large estates to inclose tracts of land that had been used in common by the Indians for centuries. Thus being deprived of their patches and pastures the Indians became rebellious; the middle classes felt



THE PALACE OF FINE ARTS, MEXICO CITY

After the Díaz régime the government spent \$13,000,000 on this theater, completing its walls. It was finished in 1934 at a cost of \$20,000,000.

themselves oppressed without political remedy; and the wealthy Mexicans became envious of foreign capitalists who were exploiting the resources of the country with the government's encouragement.

In 1910 Francisco Madero criticized the Díaz régime and attempted to hold an opposition convention. But Díaz imprisoned Madero and had himself elected President for the eighth time.

War with United States Narrowly Averted. — Following the collapse of the Díaz régime, Madero was elected President but soon was assassinated. Victoriano Huerta,¹ who had led the insurrection, had himself appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs

¹ Huerta is pronounced wër'tä.

and then on the resignation of the then acting President assumed the office of President. His position was never recognized by the United States or other strong American nations. Great Britain demanded that the United States protect British citizens in Mexico, since the Monroe Doctrine made it impossible for the British to do it for themselves; and to prevent the landing of a cargo of munitions, our marines forcibly occupied Veracruz on April 21, 1914, and remained until November 23.

Internal pressure from forces led by Carranza and Villa¹ and outside pressure from the United States caused Huerta to flee Mexico. Villa and Carranza then started a struggle for power which lasted nearly two years. Villa and 1500 of his bandit army crossed the border and attacked Columbus, New Mexico, and killed nine civilians, in March, 1916. General Pershing then led a punitive force into Mexico, but when war was imminent with Germany in 1917 the United States forces withdrew.

The Constitution of 1917 was framed during the administration of Carranza by non-property-holding radicals who incorporated many socialistic changes. The Constitution set up a zone of 100 kilometers (62½ miles) from the frontiers and 50 kilometers from the seacoast, where no foreigner shall under any conditions acquire ownership of lands or waters. And to acquire land elsewhere in Mexico an alien must agree not to invoke the protection of his home government. The Constitution also gives the states of Mexico authority to divide large landed estates.

There are numerous provisions in this constitution which aim at the complete separation of church and state. All places of public worship are made property of the nation under the supervision of the federal government. Only a Mexican by birth may be a minister of any religious creed in Mexico.

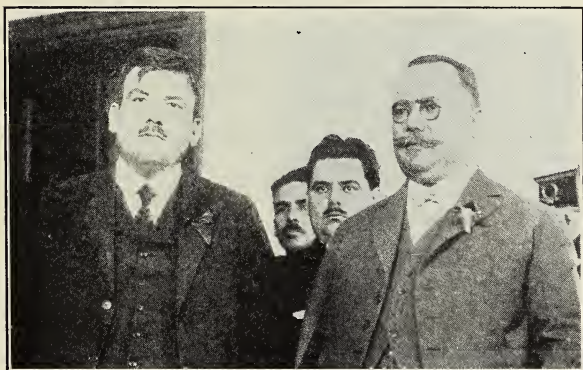
The Constitution also provides for such labor regulations as the eight-hour day, a minimum wage, and social insurance.

Mexico is a federal republic of 27 states. Each has a governor, legislature, and judiciary elected by universal suffrage; and a large degree of home rule. The federal government has a presi-

¹ Villa is pronounced vē'yā.

dent elected for six years, and a representative from each district for three years. None may be elected for two successive terms.

President Obregón. — Because of the disturbance resulting from the death of Carranza, the presidential election of 1920 was delayed from July until September. At this election General Alvaro Obregón¹ was elected President. During the first three years of his administration he maintained order throughout Mexico. He arranged for the payment of the interest on the foreign debt, agreed with the United States upon the establish-



PLUTARCO CALLES (EXILED IN 1936) ALVARO OBREGÓN

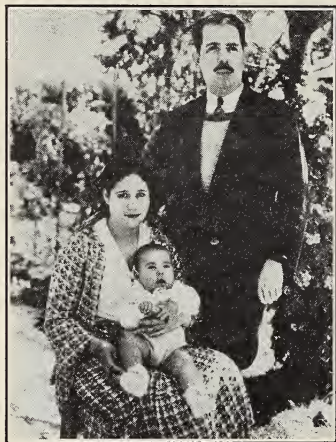
ment of two claims commissions, and re-established ambassadorial relations with the United States after a suspension of four years.

During the winter of 1923-1924 Obregón had to crush a revolt of Adolfo de la Huerta, his former minister of finance. Huerta announced his candidacy for the Presidency of Mexico. Obregón backed General Calles. Huerta revolted and for six months the attention of the government and \$60,000,000 were expended in crushing this revolt. In this revolt the Conservatives favored Huerta. Obregón was supported by the laborers

¹ Obregón is pronounced ɔ'brâ gôn'. Obregón is the Spanish form of the Irish name O'Brien, President Obregón being of Irish descent.

and by the Government of the United States. To support the regularly established government which the United States had just recognized, President Coolidge authorized the sale of army stores to the Mexican government and placed an embargo upon the shipment of any other arms from the United States to Mexico.

President Plutarco Calles¹ succeeded Obregón in 1924. Having served in Obregón's cabinet, he followed Obregón's



EX-PRESIDENT LAZARO CARDENAS
AND HIS FAMILY

President Cardenas was the youngest constitutional president in the history of Mexico. He was elected in 1934 at the age of thirty-nine.

policies of backing labor and restoring land to the Indians. Calles was a dominant political figure in Mexico until he was exiled by Cardenas² in 1936.

President Lazaro Cardenas was elected in 1934 by the National Revolutionary Party of which Calles was leader. Cardenas, of mixed Spanish and Tarascan Indian parentage, as President was a social reformer. He is a total abstainer and moved against the liquor traffic. Within a week after taking office he issued a decree to abolish gambling throughout Mexico.

The next week he took over some 915,000 acres of land owned by the International Rubber Company of Delaware and revived the policy of restoring land to the Indians. A six-year plan which was put into effect by Cardenas included: a socialized school organization; definite minimum wages; "Mexicanization" of industry; intervention of the federal government in foreign trade with a

¹ Calles is pronounced käl'yās.

² Cardenas is pronounced kār'dān äs.

commission for control of imports and exports; co-operatives reformed; modernization of the national telegraph; construction of model working-people's houses; a new agrarian department to facilitate the distribution of land to villages; construction of highways; and other public works.

Labor Unions Encouraged, but Regulated. — Ex-President Cardenas believed that "labor unions are the worker's best weapons," and that in disputes between capital and labor "doubtful cases should be decided in favor of labor." But while unions and strikes have been recognized, the laws prescribe how they are to be conducted. If the Federal Labor Board rules that a strike is legal, employers must pay wages to the idle employees. If the strike is ruled illegal, the employees are ordered back to work. Elaborate labor laws endeavor to protect the interests of labor against capital — much of which is foreign investment.

In Mexico the C.R.O.M.¹ is the older union, and corresponds roughly to the American Federation of Labor. The C.T.M.² union is more radical and more like our Congress of Industrial Organizations (C.I.O.). Conflicts between these two Mexican unions are similar to those between the A.F.L. and the C.I.O. The C.T.M. union is now the largest and dominated the labor front in the Cardenas administration.

Expropriation of Railroads. — About 8000 miles of the National Railways of Mexico were built from time to time with foreign capital — principally from the United States. These railways have undergone many changes in management, but in 1937 they were expropriated³ by the Mexican government and were operated until January, 1941, by the C.T.M. labor union. Mexico promised to pay for the property in bonds, but Mexican bonds are practically worthless. The government is operating the road at a loss in spite of increased rates.

Nationalization of Subsoil Deposits. — The Mexican mining

¹ C.R.O.M. is the abbreviation of Confederation Regional Obrera Mexicana.

² C.T.M. is the abbreviation of Confederation de Trabajadores de Mexico.

³ Expropriation means "taken by the right of eminent domain."

Code of 1884 gave owners of land exclusive ownership of all petroleum deposits with a right to develop them. But Article 27 of the Constitution of 1917 vests the ownership of all mineral and petroleum deposits in the nation. Thus by adding petroleum to the metals that had always been the property of the crown or the nation, the Constitution of 1917 changed the rights under which oil lands had been purchased since 1884.

By a petroleum law passed by the Mexican Congress in 1925, and amended in 1927, the government (1) confiscated the oil in lands whose development had not been begun or contracted for before the ratification of the Constitution of 1917; and (2) confiscated that developed before 1917 if owned by aliens who would not take an oath to renounce the diplomatic protection of their home governments.

Including the property tax, production tax, export tax, and income tax, the numerous taxes affecting oil amounted to 20 per cent of the value of the oil produced. As a result of governmental restraints on the production of oil, the output dropped from 193,397,589 barrels for the year 1921 to approximately 43,000,000 barrels for the year 1939.

Expropriation of Petroleum Plants. — About \$500,000,000 in foreign capital — principally from Great Britain and the United States — has been invested in the oil industry in Mexico. Before the Mexican revolution large profits were made; but in recent years the demands of organized labor and government taxes prevented excessive profits. In 1937 the unionized petroleum workers of Mexico struck for higher wages, a part in the management of the petroleum plants, shorter hours, more holidays with pay, and retirement at the age of 55 with approximately three-fourths pay. The oil companies estimated these demands to represent an increased expense of about 41,000,000 pesos. The union estimated it at 26,000,000. The oil companies offered an increase of 13,000,000 pesos.¹ The

¹ When the strike occurred, the companies were paying their workers in wages and social services (medical attention, vacation-pay, retirement pensions, and the like) each year the following amount. In this table fractions are omitted. Only round numbers are given 49,000,000 pesos

National Labor Relations Board sustained the demands of labor. The Supreme Court of Mexico also decided that the demands of labor were not unreasonable; but the decision by a court appointed by President Cardenas was more political than judicial, as illustrated by the following passage from the decision:

"The Mexican Supreme Court always interprets the laws of the Revolution in a humane sense and rules in accord with them and with the social justice that all the intellectuals and workers of the Left have.

"When the small nations of Latin America see what is happening in Mexico they will proceed as we do. After Mexico will come Colombia and Venezuela, breaking the chains of the companies that bind them." ¹

The oil companies refused to accept the Supreme Court decision, claiming that they were already paying their labor twice the average wages in Mexico (though less than oil workers receive in the United States), and the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey stated that to comply with the demands of labor would necessitate the operation of their plants at a loss twice as great as their annual profits of recent years. The oil companies claimed that the expropriation was contrary to the constitution of Mexico. But in 1939 the Mexican Court decided that the oil deposits belong to Mexico, and that Mexico can expropriate the other oil properties and pay for them in the future. Several oil companies reached a private settlement with the Mexican Government, and in 1942 United States-Mexican government experts recommended that the remaining American companies settle for \$23,995,991. (See page 101.)

Friendly Protest by the United States Department of State. — On March 29, 1938, Mr. Hull, Secretary of State, announced that we admit Mexico's right of eminent domain in seizing

The workers demanded (omitting fractions)	114,000,000 pesos
The companies offered (omitting fractions)	69,000,000 pesos
The Mexican "Experts Committee" and the Labor Relations Board sustained the demands of labor in what they estimated to cost	75,000,000 pesos
The oil companies estimated that these demands would cost	90,000,000 pesos

¹ This court manifestation of revolutionary methods was later demonstrated when the Mexicans sent agitators to other Latin American countries, and especially urged Cuba to nationalize American-owned sugar plantations.

property; but that international law, comity between nations, and equity require it to be paid for by compensation representing fair, assured, and effective value to the nationals from whom these properties were taken.

More Vigorous Protest by Great Britain. — The British government denied the right of Mexico to expropriate the properties, because there was little likelihood of Mexico's being able to pay for the properties. The British protests were so vigorous that they resulted in the severance of diplomatic relations between Mexico and Great Britain. Relations were resumed late in 1941 when Mexico arranged for future payments on British losses.



TYPE OF TOWN DWELLINGS FOR LABORERS

Difficult Position of the Roosevelt Administration. — Because, a century ago, the United States seized part of Mexico, and because she later practiced "dollar diplomacy" in the Caribbeans and Central America, and because Theodore Roosevelt used the "big stick" in acquiring the Panama Canal Zone, Latin America has viewed Uncle Sam as the dangerous giant to the North. Herbert Hoover and Franklin Roosevelt have worked for the good will of our Latin neighbors; and President Franklin Roosevelt has sincerely endeavored to inaugurate the



A VENDOR OF FLOWERS

A common sight much enjoyed by tourists in Mexico.

"good neighbor" policy. Now if President Roosevelt had used the big-stick method to force Mexico to restore the oil properties, he would have forfeited the good will that his administration has created in Latin America.

Land Problems. — *Peons Deprived of Commons.* — There are only a few cities in Mexico, and most of the Mexicans live in some 15,000 villages, where they can get water, protection, and association. Until the Díaz régime most of the villages were surrounded by commons for pasture and small plots of land for cultivation.

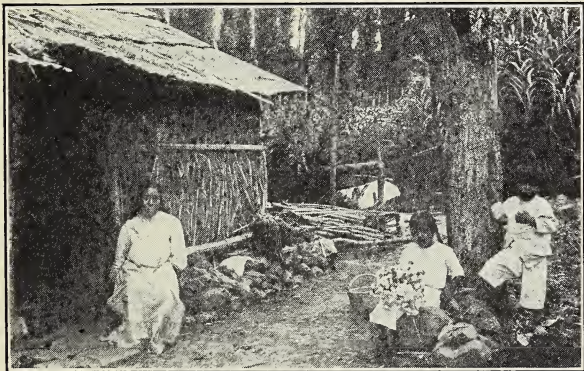
During the administration of President Díaz (1876-1911) the owners of the surrounding estates either bought or merely enclosed, with or without the consent of the government, most of these commons.

Agricultural Land Restored to Peons. — The Constitution of 1917 provides that in each state there shall be a fixed maximum area of land which any one individual or corporation may hold. If the owner does not divide his estate in accordance with these state laws, the state governments are authorized to take the land at the assessed value, which is much below the commercial value. Since 1917 several Presidents have helped to carry out this provision. They have paid for part of the land in federal bonds of little value (but now acceptable in the payment of taxes), and have divided it among the Indians in plots of about 15 acres. Calles pronounced this land policy a failure because it created a large debt, depressed the value of private land, reduced production as the Indians lacked capital and scientific knowledge, and resulted in the cutting of trees without replacing them. Nevertheless, in 1934, President Cardenas inaugurated a land distribution policy, which led to 10,000 more tracts of land being divided among 1,100,000 persons. By 1940 about 90 per cent of Mexico's farm lands had been so divided.

Communal Farms, called ejidos (a hee doughs), are co-operative farms much like the Russian collective farms. The workers elect a manager, who pays standard daily wages varying according to skill or type of work. When the crops are harvested and all expenses including wages are deducted, the remaining sum

or profit (if any) is divided among the workers according to the number of days worked.

The National Bank of Agricultural Credit makes loans to the small private farms, and the National Bank of Ejido Credit makes loans to the ejidos (communal farms). This National



ONE TYPE OF VILLAGE INDIAN

Bank of Ejido Credit makes weekly advances for the living expenses of the farmers and for feeds and seed, and this is paid back when the crop is sold; loans for stock and machinery extend from two to five years; and loans for public improvements extend as long as 30 years. This bank controls each ejido organization. It provides a technical director who determines the crops to be grown, methods of cultivation, and how the crops are to be sold; a cashier, a veterinarian, a mechanic, a field inspector, and a stenographer.

Many governmental leaders have declared the system to be a failure because of lack of technical education in agriculture, excessive demands for improvements and luxuries beyond the ability of the farm to produce, and lack of financial aid. In 1940, for the first time in Mexican history it was necessary to import corn and beans which are the staple foods in the diet of the people of Mexico.

Aliens Forbidden to Acquire Land on the Borders. — The Constitution of 1917 forbids aliens to acquire direct ownership in lands or waters within a zone of 100 kilometers ($62\frac{1}{2}$ miles) from the frontiers and 50 kilometers from the seacoasts. An act to carry this constitutional provision into effect was passed in 1925. Aliens owning lands before the passage of this act



PROSPEROUS TYPE OF MEXICAN FOUND NEAR THE BORDER

may continue owning the land throughout their lifetime, but their heirs are required to dispose of these lands within a period of five years.

International Boundary Commission. — When the Rio Grande goes on a rampage, it carries part of the United States to Mexico and part of Mexico to the United States. If the shift is slight, the boundary remains in the middle of the river. But when the river deserts one bed for an entirely new bed and leaves a substantial acreage on the opposite side of the river, it may require the Permanent Boundary Commission to decide which government shall collect the taxes. To avoid future trouble over the irrigable lands below El Paso, the Commission in 1934 began constructing an 88-mile channel protected by levees to replace the winding 154 miles of river. As we profited most by the project we paid 88 per cent of the \$6,000,000 original cost.

The 1940 Presidential Election. — As the Mexican Constitution does not allow a President to succeed himself, two new candidates competed for the election of July 7, 1940. General Manuel Avila Camacho was the candidate for the Leftist government party, and the opposition candidate was General Juan Andreu Almazan.

Camacho was backed by labor, peasants, and bureaucracy. Almazan was backed by the pious and the middle class, and probably by the women, generally more pious than the men, who voted for the first time.

The candidates were friends, neither was an extremist, both were friendly to the United States, and both were champions of democracy against both Communism and Fascism.

General Camacho was elected and, although General Almazan had a large following that for a time threatened active resistance to the government, the new government was inaugurated without serious opposition. Vice-President Henry A. Wallace of the United States was the official representative at the inauguration ceremonies and spent several weeks in Mexico cementing the friendship of the two nations.

Camacho's Policy Conservative. — Although President Camacho was the candidate of the Mexican Revolutionary party which had backed Cardenas in office, he has taken a conservative and somewhat conciliatory policy for the nation. He has indicated that he favors the consolidation of the present social gains rather than further social revolution, and that it is time to develop stability and security for both Mexicans and foreign investors. His present aims in office are to take the army out of politics, change the agrarian policy towards private owner-



PRESIDENT CAMACHO OF MEXICO

ship, operate the railways, stabilize judicial power, keep "hands off" private initiative, and encourage foreign investments.

1941 Agreements between the United States and Mexico. — President Roosevelt and Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, have from the beginning practiced the "good neighbor" policy towards Mexico; but after Adolf Hitler overran Europe it became especially important that the United States have the co-operation of all Latin America in defense against his aggression. For these reasons Mr. Hull took a rather generous attitude towards Mexico in the following agreements made in November, 1941.

Purchase of Silver. — When the Cardenas administration grabbed United States-owned oil properties in 1938, the United States stopped buying Mexican silver directly. But in 1941 our Treasury Department agreed again to buy 6,000,000 ounces of silver a month at 35¢ an ounce, or about \$25,000,000 a year — to bury in the vault at West Point. This will make it possible for Mexicans to buy more of our products.

Stabilization of the Peso. — The Treasury Department agreed to make available as much as \$40,000,000 to the Bank of Mexico to stabilize the value of the peso — to the mutual advantage of both countries.

Loans for Road Building. — The Export-Import Bank agreed to lend a total of \$30,000,000 — at the rate of \$10,000,000 a year — for road building.

Land Claims. — In restoring lands to the Indians in Mexico much American-owned land was taken over without just compensation. Now Mexico agrees to pay \$40,000,000 (less \$3,000,000 already paid) in settlement of these claims — \$3,000,000 in cash and the rest at the rate of \$2,500,000 a year.

Oil Accord. — The State Department agreed that each country appoint one expert to determine how much the United States oil interests will be paid for the property expropriated in 1938. In 1942 the experts recommended settlement for \$23,995,991. Should American oil interests refuse a settlement on the basis of the experts' decision, it would be difficult for them to persuade the Mexican Government to negotiate directly

— unless the latter needs the companies to restore the run-down oil-producing equipment. The companies' largest claims are for subsoil rights — which Mexico rejects.

Mexico in World War II. — Even before the attack on Pearl Harbor Mexico and the United States had developed plans for a joint defense. Immediately after the attack Mexico broke diplomatic relations with the Axis nations and increased her efforts to curb "fifth column" activities.

In May, 1942, following the sinking of several Mexican vessels, Mexico declared war and signed the United Nations agreement. President Camacho appointed Ex-President Cardenas as Minister of National Defense. A striking example of national unity was demonstrated when six former presidents of Mexico reviewed the Independence Day parade beside President Camacho. Also the Catholic Church instructed all Catholics to cooperate loyally with the Government.

The United States has supplied Mexico with modern military equipment, including that for a motorized division. By the end of 1942 Mexico had raised and equipped an army of 250,000 men and expressed a willingness to send its army overseas if needed. The United States Government is also rehabilitating the Mexican National Railways which are carrying a heavier load of wartime materials to the United States from Mexico and Central America than peak peacetime traffic. Our Government is furnishing the technicians and paying for these improvements. Numerous mines are producing strategic minerals, and they are aided by American technicians and investors.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. On what two occasions has independence in Mexico been assisted by the Monroe Doctrine?
2. According to Dr. Saenz what three revolutions were caused by the people?
3. Did President Porfirio Díaz develop the riches or the people of Mexico?
4. How did Díaz attract capital to Mexico?
5. How was the land held in Mexico during Díaz's regime?
6. Name three provisions of the 1917 Constitution of Mexico.

7. Was President Cardenas an individualist or a socialist? Clerical or anti-clerical? Conservative or reformer?
8. Under what conditions can Mexicans be ordered back to work during a strike?
9. Does the C.R.O.M. or the C.T.M. correspond to the A.F.L. in the United States? Which is the stronger in Mexico?
10. What provision has the Constitution of 1917 regarding subsoil deposits? Did this provision increase or decrease the output of oil?
11. What difficult situations were created by the expropriation of oil, land, and plants?
12. What action has the Mexican taken in an effort to settle this oil controversy?
13. How and when were the peons deprived of their lands held in common?
14. Under what law did the Government restore the land to the peons?
15. What method of restoration was first used? Why did it fail?
16. Explain how the communal farms operate.
17. In 1938 what settlement was made with the United States for American citizens whose land was expropriated?
18. At what distance from the frontiers are aliens forbidden to own land? From the seacoast?
19. Who was elected President in 1940? What are his domestic policies? His attitude towards the United States?

PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Do you think the policy of President Díaz or that of President Cardenas was best calculated to promote the welfare of the Mexicans? Or were both policies wrong? Or were both right according to the conditions they found?
2. In Italy, Germany, and Russia workers must join regulated unions, and strikes are forbidden. In the United States strikes are permitted and somewhat regulated. In Mexico labor unions are encouraged and strikes permitted, but the strikes are subject to much supervision, and workers may be required to return to work. Which of these governmental systems seems best to you? Why?
3. Ex-President Cardenas neither drinks nor smokes. During the first three years of his administration he closed 1600 saloons and several hundred gambling places. Why are such problems as the drinking of alcohol and the gambling of money found everywhere?
4. Ex-President Cardenas attempted to stamp out illiteracy, disease, and poverty among the masses instead of satisfying those "who have lived on the fat of the land for generations and even now are well off." President Camacho is endeavoring to put Mexico on a

sounder financial basis and is seeking international good will instead of pressing the reform program. Which policy do you think best in the long run?

5. In the United States a person cannot be deprived of his life, liberty, or property without due process of law. Practically this means that the law must be considered reasonable by a majority of the judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, and that the accused must have a fair hearing in court. Do you think we should insist upon this same standard in Mexico, or should we demand only such rights as Mexican citizens themselves enjoy?

6. Should we protect American citizens in Mexico who have lived there long enough to become Mexican citizens?

7. An "absentees' tax" ranging from two to four per cent on gross earnings of all kinds originating in Mexico, but sent abroad for any purpose, was enacted by a presidential decree in 1934. This tax applies to all persons residing abroad and receiving such funds. If you were the president would you have imposed this tax? Explain.

8. When land was distributed among the Indians, the agricultural production of Mexico declined. Does this necessarily mean that the Indian was less happy?

9. An oil worker protested to a visitor who pointed out how much he had lost in overtime and other rewards under government-union control: "But, Señor, there is a difference. We are now masters." Explain the significance of this remark.

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Courtesy of Associated Press

CHAPTER VI

UNDERSTANDING SOUTH AMERICA

Location and Area. — South America is southeast of North America, and not directly south as most North Americans think. A longitudinal line along the Atlantic coast of North America will touch the Pacific side of South America; and the west coast of South America is five hundred miles nearer New York than it is to San Francisco. The area of South America is only seven eighths that of North America; but the United States of Brazil with its area of 3,291,416 square miles is slightly larger than the United States of North America.

Climate. — Although Uruguay is the only country that does not lie wholly or partly in the tropics, most of South America has climatic conditions similar to the temperate zones. Nearly all of Argentina and Chile lie as far south of the equator as the United States of North America is north, and they extend as far south as Alaska is north. Climate is determined as much by altitude as by latitude, and the Andes rise to a height of over a mile throughout their length — from the Caribbean Sea almost to the Straits of Magellan. Ecuador is an equatorial land, but in its highland plateaus, where nine tenths of its population dwell, the weather is cold enough for winter clothes. And although 1200 miles nearer the equator than is New Orleans, Lima, Peru, is 20 degrees cooler in summer and 20 degrees warmer in winter.

Chile, the "Tapeline Republic," stretches along the Pacific Ocean for nearly three thousand miles. A Chilean may live in the hot nitrate deserts of the north, in the California-like valleys full of flowers and vineyards around Valdivia, or in the higher altitudes of Santiago, the capital. In Santiago the weather, during the winter months of June, July, and August, rarely is cooler than October in the United States, while the remainder

of the year is a continuous stretch of days resembling our spring and summer. Or, a Chilean can go to the lofty snow-capped Andes, the southern portions of which throw their glaciers down to the very water's edge. Chile is becoming the playground of the southern continent and provides such varied attractions within short distances that it is already popular for Latin

Americans and a few Europeans who have ventured that far.

In a single day one may travel from Santiago across the Andes into the wonderful vineyard and garden section of Argentina. Uruguay, southern Brazil, Argentina, and those sections of the Andean plateau which are not over 10,000 feet above sea level offer a pleasant climate for European immigrants.

Southern Brazil is rolling and the climate is nearly ideal. The highlands of the center are cool, the coastal belt of the promontory is hot, and the forest area of the north is hot and humid.



A BOY SCOUT IN ARGENTINA

This fine specimen of boyhood is typical of the upper class Latin-American.

A traveler should visit the east coast of South America during their winter (our summer), but January, February, and March are the best months to visit the west coast because the weather is cloudy, cold, and often foggy during June, July, and August. The cold Humboldt current modifies the climate as far north as Peru.

Races. — Caucasians, mestizos (mixture of European blood with the Indians or the Negro), Indians, Negroes, and Zambos (mixture of Indian and Negro), with a recent addition of Japanese, constitute the races of South America.

When the Spanish conquered the highly civilized Inca Indians, the Spaniards took to themselves Indian women, and their offspring became the mestizos. The Spanish did not colonize and replace the Indians, but rather were absorbed by them. Hence, Indians and mestizos predominate in all the countries of the north Andes.

The extreme eastern point of Brazil is only three days by fast boat from the west coast of Africa. Many Negroes were brought in as slaves in the early days of colonization but were given their freedom early in the nineteenth century, several decades before the freeing of the slaves in North America. Brazil, however, had a modified form of slavery until 1888.

Distribution of Population. — The population of South America is estimated at about 90,000,000 — about two thirds that of the United States of North America. Brazil has more than 44,000,000, Argentina about 13,000,000, and all the other countries are somewhat less populous.

In the southern part of South America the whites predominate. Argentina and Uruguay show almost entirely white populations. In Chile the Indians are not numerous and are largely isolated. In Santiago, the capital city, there are scarcely any Indians and virtually no Negroes. More than half the population of Bolivia and of Peru are pure Indians, with not much more than 10 per cent of the people pure whites. Ecuador has two thirds of its population of pure Indian blood and less than a tenth are white. There are about 5,000,000 Negroes in the warmer lowlands along the northeast coast of Brazil, and they extend around the Caribbean Sea to Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador in large numbers.

The Japanese population is located mostly in Brazil, where to date there are 140,000 that have come into the country under the aid of the Brazilian government. They were encouraged to come in family groups and had come in quotas as high as a thousand a month. A small group of Orientals have been in Peru since the early plantation development brought them in for inexpensive labor. Treated harshly at first, they have made their way to economic independence and are becoming increasingly

influential. One of the wealthiest families in Peru is Japanese. It has vast cotton interests. Others have monopolies on grocery, meat, and restaurant businesses.

Among the whites the Spanish predominate, though Brazil was settled by Portuguese. Large numbers of Germans have settled in southern Brazil, Argentina, and Chile; and still larger numbers of Italians have settled in Argentina and Uruguay. There has been little immigration to any other South American country.

There is little race prejudice in South America. Except in families of the upper class, intermarriage of all the races has been common. In some parts of northern Brazil the Negroes still speak the dialects used in African villages, but some of them have risen to membership in the Academy of Letters among the Forty Immortals of Brazil.

The Indians range from the descendants of the highly civilized Incas to the squalid cannibal tribes of the little-known jungle of interior Brazil.

Language. — The Spanish language is official in every republic of South America except Brazil, where Portuguese is official. Educated people, with this one exception, speak and write Spanish, though of course the accent varies greatly from section to section. Along the Andean tablelands and lofty altitudes from Ecuador to Chile and Argentina, it is estimated that less than one fifth of the Indians are able to speak Spanish. They retain their mother tongue.

Characteristics of the People. — A majority of the whites of South America have come from the Latin countries of Europe, so they are Latin in temperament and speak Spanish, just as we are Anglo-Saxon in temperament and speak English. The aristocrats commonly speak several languages, including French. Paris was their mecca. Their styles were as Parisian as those of fashionable North Americans. Their culture is rich with European music, art, and literature. The upper-class people have the feeling that manual work is for slaves and coolies. In Peru it has been considered degrading to carry packages, and a school child is frequently accompanied by a servant to carry his

books. Housemaids and gardeners are maintained even by families with small incomes.

Argentina has been called the United States of the southern hemisphere. There great fortunes were made from rising land values. Because of the great number of recent European immigrants to this country, a middle class has been developing ; but generally speaking, in the other countries of the continent a middle class does not exist. If you cannot belong to the class of the well-to-do and government officials, then you will be grouped with the lower classes.

The Latin-American begins with enthusiasm, but he lacks the power of sustained effort. Politics and living on credit have affected the Latin-American's energy. "Mañana" (tomorrow) seems to be the password of most of the countries excepting Argentina, Chile, southern Brazil, and Ecuador. The Latin-

Americans are extremely polite, and an Argentinean often uses the word "mañana" as a polite way of temporarily or indefinitely postponing matters which have not made a favorable impression, and not as a lazy pretext for not doing today what can be postponed for tomorrow. The Latin-American has less money ambition and conserves his energy more truly than does the North American. There are few sanitarium for broken nerves and enfeebled bodies in the southern continent.

Women. — The Moorish culture which influenced the Spanish peninsula for several centuries found its way to South America,



THE THREE MOTHERS, VALENCIA,
VENEZUELA

This monument exemplifies Latin America's appreciation of religion, of motherhood, and of the fine arts.

where there is a semi-seclusion of women, especially among the high-class women on the west coast. There the young women are usually chaperoned. If one is left alone with a young man, it is, in some localities, expected that he will propose to her. Divorce is just finding its way to South America. There are no women in the world who have a higher standard of sex morality than those of the upper classes. This is not carried over to the women of the lower classes nor to the men of either group. Among a few of the native groups marriage is not generally accepted as a necessary custom. In most of the continent, however, the Catholic Church has been active in raising the moral standards and establishing Christian customs.

The women of Ecuador, Colombia, and Bolivia have not yet entered into the industries. Even women teachers have little standing. But the movement to give women more opportunities to develop their abilities and to receive higher education is sweeping South America, especially Argentina. Here many young women have entered business fields and are rapidly becoming a real factor in industry.

Cities. — The two outstanding cities of the continent are Buenos Aires, with a population of about 2,500,000, and Rio de Janeiro, with a population approaching 2,000,000 inhabitants.

Buenos Aires is one of the most cosmopolitan cities in the world. One fifth of the inhabitants are Italians and about half of the population is foreign born. The women dress in the height of Parisian fashion. The spaciousness of the city, with exquisite architecture, beautiful parks, broad streets, a luxurious subway, has been planned to eventually accommodate 4,000,000 people. The beauty has been all the more enhanced by the homes of the wealthy. Buenos Aires is said to have more millionaires according to population than New York City. The city has been styled a "pretentious capital in a pastoral republic." It is *the* city. Located on a broad, flat plain through which the estuary of La Plata has cut a fairly deep channel, the city does not have a natural setting of any great beauty. What it has lacked in natural surroundings it has overcome by

building beauty into the city. The great mud flats to the east of the city are nearly bare at low tides.

Meat-handling plants have been developed with ultra-modern facilities and direct access to the port. The stock yards rival those of Chicago. Other industrial plants have been built in Buenos Aires that are bidding to furnish much of the manufactured goods that Argentina needs. Whether this self sufficiency will curtail the foreign trade of the Argentine as it did



Courtesy Pan American Union

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RIO DE JANEIRO AND ITS BEAUTIFUL HARBOR

in the United States of North America, through eliminating the importation of manufactured goods from nations in need of foodstuffs, is a matter of conjecture.

Rio de Janeiro cannot be called *the* city of Brazil but it is the intellectual center. It has a beautiful natural setting, and has been carefully built with an eye to beauty as well as utility. The homes must pass examination of the plans not only for construction but for architectural beauty before they may be built. Even the decorations must be accepted for their artistic value before they may be added. The sanitary measures are strictly enforced and the city is kept clean and healthful. It is the

center of Brazil's educational and cultural world, and the spending place of much of Brazil's income, but São Paulo is the greatest earner, and Santos the greatest exporter of values.

Lima, Peru, is perhaps the most picturesque city from the tourist's point of view because of its many old buildings that were erected by the Spanish conquerors. Nearby Inca buildings are also a source of much interest to scientists. Its altitude has made the climate very pleasant, and its Old World custom and charm still hold.

Santiago, the capital of Chile, is also a place of interest. Here are blending the cultures, both old and new, with more recent tendencies toward the modernization of the city. The harbor of Valparaiso, near Santiago, is the major port on the western coast of South America. Santiago prides itself on being the center of Chilean culture, industry, and trade. With its population of 830,000 people it commands a major place of importance in the southern hemisphere.

General Social Problems. — Throughout the whole of South America there is a high rate of illiteracy among the masses of the people. While the aristocrats have attained a high culture among themselves, there has not been either a demand or movement to educate the general population until the last decade when intensive campaigns were started by public and private agencies.

Revolutions have frequently wiped out vast numbers of men. At one time the Paraguayan men were so decimated that the population of women exceeded the men about ten to one. Disease has further kept the population low: yellow fever, cholera, malarial fever, and tropical diseases still carry off tens of thousands annually. In some parts of the continent nearly two thirds of the people are weakened with venereal disease. This is especially true where there is a large Indian and Negro racial majority.

The infant mortality rate is as high as 25 per cent in many of the Latin-American countries. Medical care is limited mostly to the larger towns or cities, and although there are several excellent medical research institutions, the big problem is providing care for the poor in rural areas.

Until very recently the land system prevented the ownership of small tracts of land and seriously handicapped the development of rural population. In Argentina there are a thousand tracts of land that contain more than 125,000 acres each, many of them owned by landlords who live in Paris or Buenos Aires. Chile has only recently started dividing the large tracts into small acreages to sell to the small agriculturalists. Brazil is still dominated by large estates that have not entirely solved the serious labor shortage problem; but the trend is toward the division of the land into smaller tracts.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. What factors influence the climate of South America in the Andes? The pampas? The coastal lowlands of Brazil?

2. Why is it true that Santiago, Chile, is nearer New York than to San Francisco?

3. Where in South America will one find a preponderance of Indians? Of Negroes? Of whites? Give reasons for this distribution.

4. If you were selecting a vacation-time playground, such as California or Florida, in South America, where would it be ideally located? What sports probably would be most developed?

5. Why is Chile called the "Tapeline Republic"? How does this affect its distribution of population?

6. Compare race discrimination in South America to the discrimination toward the Negroes and Indians in the United States of North America.

7. List at least four reasons for the development of an aristocratic class in South America.

8. It is common for men who meet the public constantly in business to speak five or more languages fluently. Why has this been necessary in South America?

9. What effects has the Moorish culture of old Spain had on the lives of the women of South America?

PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Argentina disposed of its public lands in large tracts, but the United States disposed of most of its land to homesteaders. Which method do you consider better? Give your reasons.

2. When a South American was asked to make a frank but friendly criticism of North Americans, he said, "The Yankees are cultured

neither in knowledge nor manners; they are of astonishing superficiality. They learn only what is essential to making a living. In Chicago on the same day that 40,000 attended a ball game, 11,000 heard ex-President Taft on the vital question of the United States and the World War in an unfilled hall. A boxing champion in the United States is converted into a national hero — the Yankees adore brute force." What comments have you to make on this criticism?

3. To prevent a clash between the rulers of Spain and Portugal in the fifteenth century when early exploration and claims to new lands were being made, the Pope established an imaginary line which became known as the Line of Demarcation. This line gave the eastern part of South America to Portugal and the western part to Spain. What effect has this had in differences between Brazil and the remainder of South America?

4. "In the United States men of the professional classes will, after office hours, don their old clothes, and their wives put on house clothes. Together they will potter about the yard and the garden, dig in the dirt, build fences, or paint, do any number of tasks that bring them a sense of welcome relief from the mental strains of the day. Spanish or Portuguese professional men would seldom think of doing such a thing. It would be beneath their dignity. A professional gardener is employed to care for the lawns and flower beds of half a dozen families. Workmen of various sorts are called in for the other chores in which North American professional men would take delight."¹ Does this attitude toward work indicate the cause of there being no middle class in South America? Can such a "caste system" be of benefit to a nation? Give your reasons.

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CHAPTER VII

POLITICAL CONDITIONS IN SOUTH AMERICA

General Characteristics of Government. — During the first quarter of the nineteenth century the countries of South America gained their independence. Many of them immediately became republics, but all traces of monarchical rule did not disappear from South America until Dom Pedro II departed from Brazil for Lisbon in 1889.¹

There are two types of republics prevailing in Latin America : federal and centralized. Argentina, Brazil, and Venezuela are made up of a number of states like the United States of North America, and are therefore known as federal states. All of the remaining countries of the continent are centralized, with subordinate divisions, and are governed under laws made by the central government and administered by officers appointed by the central government.

The national governments of both the federal and centralized types are similar. Each has a congress composed of two houses, an elective president, and a national supreme court. The president is elected either by a direct vote, by electors, or by the congress.

The A. B. C. Powers. — Argentina, Brazil, and Chile are the outstanding South American countries because they combine stability, progress, and power.

Argentina is considered the richest and most progressive country of the southern continent. The character of its population shows the greatest change because of heavy immigration. The Italians from northern Italy are numerous and influential. Its capital is the largest city in the world south of the equator —

¹ Two small colonies, British and Dutch Guiana, continue under constitutional monarchies.

it is the Paris of Latin America. It is also the publishing center for Spanish language books and periodicals. A generation ago the government sold the most fertile of its public domain in immense tracts; thus, with the rise in land values, the few became millionaires and the many remained dependents of the few. However, Argentina's government has had fewer changes than any other Latin-American country, and the middle class is increasing and gaining in influence.



Galloway

NATIONAL CAPITOL OF ARGENTINA AT BUENOS AIRES

In 1860 the states of Argentina federated and adopted a constitution which with slight amendments is still in force. It provides for a federal republican form of government.

The legislative powers of the nation are vested in a Congress composed of a House of Deputies and a Senate. The deputies are elected from districts for a term of four years. Two senators from each province are chosen by the provincial legislatures for a term of nine years. The powers of the Congress are similar to those possessed by the Congress of the United States of North America, though their Congress cannot declare war without the consent of the President. Thus we can understand how Presi-

dent Irigoyen ¹ prevented war against Germany when the majority of the Congress desired it, during World War I.

The executive power is vested in a President who is chosen by a popularly elected electoral college for a term of six years. He cannot be re-elected until after an intermission of at least one term. His powers are similar to those of our President, but he has complete authority over foreign affairs; and he appoints bishops for the cathedral churches from a list of names presented to him by the Senate. He appoints a cabinet to administer the affairs of the nation. These cabinet ministers may attend the session of Congress and take part in debate but they have no vote.

The judicial power of the country is vested in a Supreme Court and other inferior federal courts, whose judges are appointed by the president and hold their offices during good behavior.

Argentina is composed of fourteen provinces, ten territories, and one federal district (Buenos Aires). The provinces retain all powers not delegated to the federal government and those which they have expressly reserved by special agreement at the time of their coming into the Union. Each province has its own constitution and elects its governor, legislators, and other provincial officers without the intervention of the federal government.

Revolution of 1930. — From the time of the unification of the country no revolution succeeded in Argentina until 1930, when adverse economic conditions precipitated a revolution against President Irigoyen, who was old and opinionated, and governed largely without the consent of Congress. Only seventeen were killed; but the President was imprisoned, and the next year some twenty of his followers were exiled. Since that time the government has been fairly stable.

Relations with the Fascist Countries. — Recent propaganda sponsored by European agitators has not gained much headway because among the German colonists are many wealthy Jews who oppose Naziism; and although Argentina has large numbers of

¹ Irigoyen is pronounced ı̃ rē goi'ën.

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Italians, the majority of these are anti-Fascist. In World War II Argentina declared neutrality, but permits American nations to use Argentine harbors even for armed vessels, thus showing sympathy for American nations. Absence of adequate defense fosters a neutral policy.

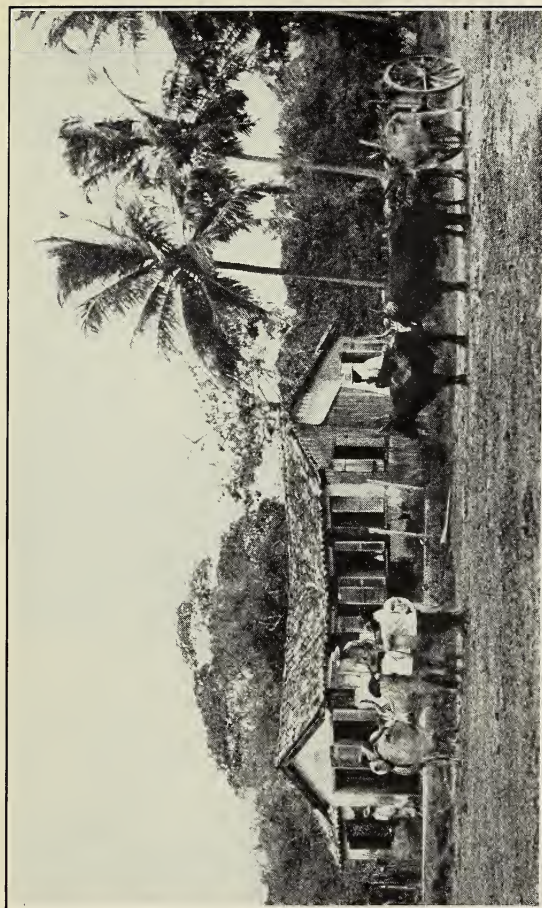
Brazil. — In 1889 a bloodless revolution occurred in Brazil, and a republic was proclaimed. The revolution was essentially a military movement and for several years Brazil remained under the control of a military party. A republican constitution was adopted in 1891 which established a federal government. The constitution was modeled upon that of the United States of North America with certain modifications taken from that of Argentina.

Brazil is composed of twenty states, one federal district, and one territory. Each state has a constitution and a government similar to that of our states. Religious liberty is guaranteed the people against encroachment either by the Union or by the states. No church may be established or supported by the government.

In 1924 a rebellion against the federal government developed in several states; and in 1930 Getulio Vargas,¹ taking advantage of political dissatisfaction and an economic depression, seized the government. The government had borrowed large sums of money abroad for irrigation projects and for the partial electrification of a government-owned railroad. Year after year it had borrowed to buy surplus coffee crops to boost the price. This induced other countries to grow coffee, and the price fell below the cost of production. The government destroyed 30,000,000 bags of coffee by burning or dumping it into the ocean.

In 1934 Getulio Vargas became President for a four-year term under a constitution that he himself had framed. He opposed anarchists, socialists, and communists; and in 1937, to prolong his expiring term of office, he promulgated a new semi-fascist constitution. It endows the President with "supreme authority in the state" for a term of six years. He has the right to initiate

¹ Vargas is pronounced vār'gäs.



Galloway

OUTPOST IN BRAZIL

The building is a rest house on a ranch of 75,000 acres in the Valley of the Amazon.

laws. He has the authority to suspend Congress and to dictate legislation by decree. He can also suspend state legislatures.

Under this 1937 constitution the Chamber of Deputies is chosen indirectly by members of municipal councils and ten citizens chosen by municipal voters at the same time the councils are elected. The Federal Council consists of ten members appointed by the President and others chosen by the state legislatures.

This constitution created a Council of National Economy to regulate relations between employers and employees similar to Mussolini's corporative system.

Between 1887 and 1936, 1,354,000 Italians and 155,000 Germans entered Brazil, a Fascist party was formed and Germany carried on political and trade propaganda. The Brazilian Government has taken strong measures to check the Nazi organizations, and after several Brazilian ships were torpedoed Brazil declared war on Germany and Italy on August 2, 1942.

In the northern and more isolated sections of Brazil where education has not become general the republican form of government had been little more than a name. Some local bosses had not held elections and had turned the election form sheets filled in by the *chefe* or in blank so that those better qualified could fill them in as they saw fit. Although suffrage had been extended in 1934 to both men and women over eighteen years of age, it had not been effective throughout the nation.

Chile. — *History.* — Chile threw off the Spanish yoke between 1810 and 1818, and in 1833 adopted a highly centralized constitution. The country continued under the dominance of some hundred Spanish-Chilean conservative families until 1920, when Arturo Alessandri,¹ a liberal, was elected President. He was forced into exile for a period, but he returned and secured the liberalization of the constitution in 1925. An income tax was enacted, the conditions of labor were improved, and the effort to break the hold of the aristocratic element met with partial success.

Despite advanced social legislation and the comparatively

¹ Alessandri is pronounced á lěs sǎn'drě.

honest and efficient administration of President Carlos Ibáñez,¹ "hard times" and the revolutionary wave, which swept South America, produced revolts in Chile in 1930-1931, and the President was forced into exile. At the election of 1932, the liberals again elected Don Arturo Alessandri to the Presidency. In 1938 the still more liberal leader, Pedro Aguirre Cerda,² was elected through a Popular Front party composed of liberal



Courtesy Pan American Union

PNEUMATIC DRILL IN NITRATE FIELDS, CHILE

elements with nationalistic tendencies, yet definitely opposed to Fascist and Nazi movements in South America. President Aguirre Cerda died in 1941, and Juan Antonio Ríos, an anti-Fascist was elected in 1942. His sympathies are with the United Nations, and when the Chilean coastline's defense was assured Chile broke diplomatically with the Axis early in 1943.

Nitrates. — Between 1830, when the first nitrates were shipped from Chile, and 1930, a total of 100,000,000 tons was exported; and during the last fifty years of this period the

¹ Ibáñez is pronounced è bän'yäth.

² Aguirre Cerda is pronounced ä hē'rě sěr'dä.

government collected nearly \$1,000,000,000 in export taxes on nitrate and iodine. But the production of synthetic nitrogen forced down the demand and price of nitrates, causing severe financial distress in Chile. President Ibanez effected the reorganization of the industry into the *Compania Salitre de Chile* (commonly called *Cosach*), combining all interests, deposits, refineries, and sales organizations. Because of the over-financing of the company it was necessary in 1933 to liquidate *Cosach* and by 1934 the industry was reorganized under the *Chilean Nitrate and Iodine Sales Corporation*, which is directly managed by the government with the minister of finance acting as chairman of the eleven directors, five others of which are the government's representatives. The profits are divided 25 per cent to the government and the remaining 75 per cent to the producers.

Governmental Organization. — Chile is a centralized state. The *legislative* power is vested in a Congress composed of a House of Deputies and a Senate. The deputies are apportioned according to population and are directly elected for a term of four years. The Senate is composed of one third as many senators from each province as there are deputies. They are elected directly for eight years. The *executive* authority is vested in a President who is elected by electors chosen by popular vote. His term is six years, and he is not eligible for the next succeeding term.

The *judicial* power of the state is vested in the courts established by law. The judges of the higher courts are nominated by the Council of State and appointed by the President. They hold their office during good behavior.

The country is divided into twenty-three provinces, and the provinces into departments. The President appoints an intendant for each province, who exercises his power directly in accordance with the laws and with instructions of the President whose agent he is. The President also appoints a governor for each department upon the nomination of the provincial intendant.

The suffrage in Chile is restricted to males who can read and write. Certain classes of persons, such as criminals and domestic servants, are not permitted to vote.

The Minor Countries. — A classification of the countries of South America other than the A. B. C. powers would be difficult; therefore, the geographical order is followed in these comments.

Uruguay has enjoyed relative quiet and prosperity. Its extensive experiments in socialism have created much interest.



James Sawders

THE MAIN PLAZA IN MONTEVIDEO, URUGUAY

Uruguay has also experimented with forms of government; and in 1933, when a large government deficit developed, President Gabriel Terra assumed dictatorial power and called a Constituent Assembly which in 1934 abolished the complex government and set up a parliamentary government of the French type. In 1938 General Alfredo Baldomir was elected president. In World War II he took a decided stand in favor of the United Nations and in 1942 prepared a new constitution which replaced the parliamentary government with one similar to that of the United States. This constitution was ratified

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by the people in November, 1942, in the same election which placed President Amezaga in office.

The new President and Alfredo Baldomir, who retained great influence, cooperated with the United Nations, and especially with the United States. For instance, they granted us the use of important naval and air bases.

Paraguay is unfortunately located in the heart of a large continent, and is a land of frequent dictators. Dictator López desired expansion to deep water, and in 1865 waged war against Argentina. Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay combined against him; most of Paraguay's men were killed in battle; and Argentina and Brazil took portions of her territory.

The century-old dispute with Bolivia over the Gran Chaco, which is supposed to have oil, was settled in 1938 when the agreement was finally signed in Buenos Aires. The peace was the result of the concerted efforts of the larger American powers. The agreement gives Bolivia a river port with access to the Atlantic, but gives Paraguay most of the disputed territory. Since the settlement of this dispute, Paraguay has had a series of dictators, and now a military clique is in power.

Bolivia, named for the South American liberator, Simón Bolívar, became independent in 1825. Its nineteenth-century history was marked by a series of revolutions and dictators. In 1930 postponement of the presidential election by the incumbent brought a successful military revolution. And in 1936, at the end of hostilities of the Gran Chaco War, Colonel David Toro became dictator, but in 1937 Lieutenant Colonel Germán Busch replaced him by a bloodless coup, and was later constitutionally elected. He set up in 1939 the first totalitarian government in the Western Hemisphere. Later he committed suicide and a democratic government was re-established.

Bolivia has had no seacoast since losing its provinces to Chile in 1883. It greatly desires a seaport and has urged Chile to cede a strip of land along the Peruvian border. Until the peace agreement with Paraguay the products were exported through Brazil down the Amazon. Whether the free port through

Paraguay, using the river route south is more than a psychological victory depends on the development in Bolivia of the nearby regions.

Peru. — Since the country obtained its freedom from Spain, the control of the government of Peru has swung back and forth between military and civil authority.

In 1908 Augusto B. Leguía¹ was inaugurated President. In 1909 he and several members of his cabinet were captured by a



DIPLOMATS ATTENDING THE CENTENARY OF BOLIVIAN INDEPENDENCE

band of desperate men in an attempt to overthrow the government. After being paraded through the streets and threatened with death if he did not resign, Leguía was rescued by loyal troops and the conspirators were captured or put to flight.

In 1912 when the successor to Leguía was elected he was not wanted by interests which controlled the police and army. Sufficient police protection was not furnished on election day and confusion in certain sections caused the election to be called illegal. Congress was induced to elect Billinghurst as president.

"After a lapse of a couple years," to use the words of Roger Babson, "certain interests decided that President Billinghurst

¹ Leguía is pronounced lā gē'a.

had served long enough. There is no need of recalls in Peru. The courtly Colonel Benevides went to the capital with a body of men and asked Billinghurst to resign. As Mr. Billinghurst thought he was too young to die, he graciously resigned. Although there were one or two vice-presidents,¹ neither of them was apparently considered as his successor. They wanted to live longer perhaps, so they resigned too. Colonel Benevides thereupon assumed the presidency." In 1915 Dr. José Pardo was elected President and sent Colonel Benevides² abroad on a diplomatic mission to get him out of the country.

In 1919, the former President, Augusto B. Leguía, was elected President. It was feared his election would not be ratified by Congress. Therefore on the fourth of July, 1919, a group of armed men invaded the executive office at Lima and invited President Pardo to accompany them to prison. Leguía then served as dictator-president until overthrown by Colonel Sanchez Cerro in 1930. Cerro was elected President in 1931, and Leguía died in prison in 1932. The impetuous Cerro allowed his country to be drawn into open conflict with Colombia by supporting civilians who seized the border town Leticia. Cerro was assassinated in 1933, and Congress elected Benevides successor.

Benevides had been in exile much of the previous decade. Once he was shipped to Australia, but the political prisoners mutinied and forced the captain to land them in Costa Rica. He ruled by decree without Congress and rode in a bulletproof car. He was opposed by the Apra, a group of ardent reformers, and to combat them Benevides built model villages for workmen, established five-cent lunch rooms, and launched a social insurance program.

The Apra, headed by Haya de la Torre,³ has become a major factor in the government of Peru. The objectives of the organization are a blending of strong nationalism, and social reform for the benefit of the Indian population. It desires a solidarity of South American countries along the concepts planned by

¹ Peru has two vice-presidents.

² Benevides is pronounced bān'ă vē'dēs.

³ Haya de la Torre is pronounced hī'yă dā lă tōr'rě.

Bolívar in the nineteenth century. Although fascist in some aspects the organization is opposed to European fascist intervention in Peru. The ideals of the organization have spread to other Latin-American countries having large Indian populations.

In 1939 Manuel Prado was elected to succeed Benevides. He favored the United Nations and severed diplomatic relations with the Axis powers. Under him the Peruvian government developed a constitutional administration and cooperated closely with the Pan-American Union and the United States.

Ecuador and Colombia. — Although both of these countries have excellent constitutions, at least on paper, there have been numerous revolutions, bloody and otherwise, which have tended to make unstable governmental conditions. Colombia changed from a loose confederation of nine states in 1887 to the centralized Republic of Colombia. Subsequent revolutions have endeavored to overthrow this centralized form of government, and a civil war, which broke out in 1899, cost the lives of 50,000 soldiers and many non-combatants from privation and disease. In 1911 a short boundary war was fought with Peru. Since that time Colombia has been fairly stable and has risen to a high rank among the South American nations.

Venezuela. — After the withdrawal from the union with Colombia and Ecuador, the independent Republic of Venezuela was formed. The country passed through many revolutions and financial difficulties. From 1908 until his death in 1935 Juan Vicente Gómez¹ dominated the country. Realizing the importance of keeping peace with foreign powers, he was just to foreign investors and his administration was closely associated with the exploitation of oil. He ruled with a hand of iron, paying off the governmental debts, building modern conveniences for himself and his intimates, even building paved highways into the interior to his own or family holdings. The prisons were full of political prisoners, cruel forms of torture were devised, and hundreds of deaths have been attributed to his administration lasting twenty-seven years. Gangster methods were utilized to maintain the power over such a long period of time, and oppo-

¹ Gómez is pronounced gō'mās.

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sition was so cruelly suppressed that it finally did not exist except in secret. His successor, President López Contreras,¹ made sweeping changes that have made Venezuela again a democratic nation, and with its excellent financial condition as a basis for development, encouraged a program of public works. A peaceful presidential election in 1941 continued the stable democratic government under President Medina Angarita.

GOVERNMENTS OF SOUTH AMERICA

COUNTRY	PRESIDENT			CONGRESS				
	How Chosen	Tenure in Years	Re-eligible	House of Deputies (popularly elected)		Senate		
				Members	Tenure in Years	Members	How Chosen	Tenure in Years
Argentina	Electors	6	In 6 yr.	158	4	30	Provincial legislatures	9
Bolivia	Popular vote	4	In 8 yr.	70	4	16	Popular vote	6
Brazil	Popular vote	6	Yes	See p. 120	4	42	Indirectly	8
Chile	Popular vote	6	In 6 yr.	143	4	45	Popular vote	8
Colombia	Popular vote	4	In 4 yr.	118	2	56	Departmental assemblies	4
Ecuador	Popular vote	4	Not re-eligible	56	2	32	Popular vote	4
Paraguay	Electors	4	Not re-eligible	40	4	20	Popular vote	6
Peru	Popular vote	5	In 5 yr.	140	5	40	Popular vote	6
Uruguay	Popular vote	4	In 8 yr.	99	4	30	Popular vote	5
Venezuela	Congress	5	Not re-eligible	85	4 by district boards	40	State assemblies	4

Republics in Name or Fact. — Latin Americans are excellent theorists and constitution makers. On paper their instruments of government are almost perfect. Their constitutions contain

¹ Contreras is pronounced kōn trā'rās.

extensive bills of rights. Universal suffrage and compulsory education are contained in the laws of many of the countries. But the Spanish leaders are politically intolerant; and the masses of once-enslaved Indians are made servile and kept ignorant. The tropics rarely develop democratic governments.

Revolutions. — Latin Americans have little conception of toleration in politics. One party thinks of the other as completely wrong, hence feels that it is its duty to replace it. Too often elections give no opportunity for the free expression of the desires of the people because they are conducted under the control of the government and the party in power; hence the only way for the party out of power to replace the one in power is by revolution. As long as the elections are a farce in so many instances, the revolution seems to be the only means by which an unpopular dictator can be overthrown. These revolutions do not necessarily directly disturb business any more than do our presidential elections.

American Loans to South American Governments. — Following World War I, government bonds of South American countries became favorite investments in the United States because of high interest rates. Banks sold them in large numbers to United States investors. Foreign trade dropped off over the entire world, and South America suffered financially because of the low prices and limited markets for copper, tin, coffee, beef, and wheat. By January 1, 1940, \$1,610,332,000 of bonds were still outstanding, and of this sum \$1,191,761,000 was in default as to principal and interest. American companies and individuals, however, had nearly \$3,000,000,000 invested in various industries in Latin America which brought in moderate profits.

World War II cut off a large part of the normal European market for South American products, many of which are in direct competition with United States exports. Germany and Italy were no longer able to purchase goods on a barter basis because of the British blockade and their war needs at home. England was still a large buyer of South American produce, but was unable to sell these countries the needed machinery,

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steel, and manufactured goods. This resulted in near financial disaster for many of the South American nations.

The United States was able through direct loans or bank credits totaling over \$500,000,000, to stabilize the money in the various Latin-American nations. The trade between the United States and her southern neighbors was expanded. This trade provided a necessary outlet for Latin-American products so that they could buy necessary machines, farm equipment, and other goods from the United States. It also gave us access to copper, tin, tungsten, industrial diamonds, and many other materials needed in our war production.

Encouragement of Mining and Agriculture. — Through the Export-Import Bank, and some Lend-Lease funds, substantial loans have been made to develop industries in Latin America. In Brazil a \$45,000,000 loan was made to help start a native steel industry. The Itabira iron mines of Brazil, with a high grade ore equivalent to the Swedish ores used for the finest steel, were opened and the railroads to the mines were repaired so that the ore could be used for war production. Also an airplane engine factory and aluminum industry were developed in Brazil with United States assistance. In addition, our Government bought rubber at high prices and purchased the surplus coffee crop.

Bolivian tin, and minerals from other Latin-American nations including Chile, Peru, Ecuador, and Venezuela have been purchased in large quantities at prices high enough to encourage production. Some food reserves were bought by the United States and stored in South America for future needs. To replace the fibers, drugs, and other products cut off by the war in the Orient, we also fostered the growing of oil crops, spices, drug plants, cacao, and fiber plants in the Caribbean and Central American regions. Subsidies, tools, technical advice, and long term contracts for the purchase of surplus crops have been used as inducements for growers to start these diversified products. Large sums are being spent to develop the hemisphere's rubber supply by building roads to the wild rubber areas, and by encouraging rubber plantations. However, the

American rubber supply, even when greatly expanded, can fill only a small portion of the normal United States demand.

Transplanting Factories to South America. — The lack of transportation facilities curtailed the shipment of goods manufactured in the United States. At the same time many of our factories had to close because of the war. Through government arrangements, some of our unused factories were moved to South America and Mexico. Textile mills, refrigeration plants, paper mills, and shoe factories are most in demand by our neighbors.

Pan American Airways. — The principal cities of the southern continent fall within the same time radius from New York by air as the principal cities of North America by rail. At the beginning of World War II most of the commercial airlines in South America were German- or Italian-controlled. These Axis controlled planes were grounded for political and defense reasons, and concessions were shifted to the Pan American-Grace Airways, called Panagra. The Axis-controlled routes were reduced from 11,500 miles to only 70 miles. The Panagra has expanded the service to cover over 15,000 miles of commercial air routes in Latin America.

Extensive Radio Broadcasts in English, Spanish, and Portuguese over international hookups are being exchanged by the United States and Latin-American nations to promote good will.

Movies in South America have become so popular that the English language, which is used in the pictures, is becoming the second language in the schools of Argentina.

American Literature. — In the past, Latin Americans have looked to Europe for their diversion, culture, and literature. This is natural because of their European backgrounds and language. Today the Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America is fostering an interchange of students, professors, scientists, musicians, and other artists, as well as radio programs and literature. These are partially subsidized, but such magazines as *National Geographic*, *Life*, *Saturday Evening Post*, and the *Reader's Digest* are found on their newsstands. The *Reader's Digest* is published in Spanish and is widely read.

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QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. When did the South American countries obtain independence? Who was the "liberator" of South America?
2. What are the differences between federal and centralized forms of government? Name the South American governments that are centralized. The ones that are federalized.
3. What were some of the direct causes of the revolutions of 1930-1931? Which countries did not undergo revolutions at that time?
4. How has Chile organized the nitrate sales industry to save the economic condition of both investors and government?
5. How was the Gran Chaco war ended? What countries were directly involved? In the agreement that apportioned the disputed territory what advantages did each receive?
6. Why is it necessary for an opposition party to force a revolution before a change in parties in power is achieved? List some instances where this has been done.
7. What has the United States done to help the Latin-American countries to help themselves industrially?
8. In Lima, Peru, are numerous public buildings, including a pleasure club which a Latin American described as "gifts from the widows and orphans of the United States" to the government of Peru. What had actually been the source of the money for the loans made to the governments of South America?

PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION

1. In all of the South American countries the chief executive is elected for a definite term and is independent of the Congress like the President of the United States. In Great Britain the executive officers (prime minister and cabinet) are subordinate to the Parliament, and they go out of office whenever they cease to be the real leaders of Parliament. Do you think the parliamentary type in Latin America would facilitate a legal change of government and do away with revolutions?
2. If the dictatorial Powers should attempt to gain a foothold in Latin America would the Monroe Doctrine cause us to intervene?
3. If the Indian population of the northern part of the continent were given political, social, and economic equality so that they would rise again to a high state of civilization of which they are mentally and physically capable, what effect would this have on the political and economic life of this region?
4. In most revolutions in South America the students of the universities of the nations were involved. In Santiago, Chile, at one time

the students armed and took military control of the city to preserve the peace and to protect the citizens. Contrast these conditions with the interests of college students of the United States. What factors have caused the differences?

5. The constitutions and theories of government of the South American nations are excellently worked out. Why, with these fine bases for good government, have the principles not been placed into actuality? Give your reasons.

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CHAPTER VIII

PAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS

Pan-Americanism. — Pan-Americanism is an ideal which American statesmen have from time to time promoted since the Latin-American countries gained their independence. It recognizes a community of interests among all American countries.



THE PAN AMERICAN UNION HEADQUARTERS, WASHINGTON, D. C.

This building was the gift of Andrew Carnegie.

It means mutual protection and help; the maintenance of peace; and the promotion of better commercial, political, and intellectual relations. Pan-Americanism is being promoted by the Pan American Union.

The Pan American Union is an organization of all the American republics, with headquarters in Washington, D. C. It grew

out of the first Pan-American Conference that was held in Washington in 1889. It is officially supported by each country contributing in proportion to its population. The governing board is composed of the Secretary of State of the United States and the diplomatic representatives of Latin America in Washington. The board elects its president and a director-general who is assisted by a staff of experts in Pan-American affairs.

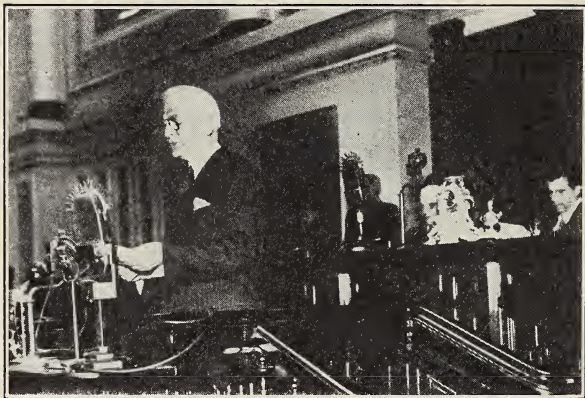
The Union performs a most valuable function in counteracting the effect of yellow journalism. Revolutions and banditry make fascinating reading, and the readers of certain newspapers think of Latin America and revolutions as almost synonymous. By circulating hundreds of thousands of circulars and periodicals annually, this Union brings our attention to the normal conditions and opportunities of these countries. It also brings to the attention of the Latin-American the better side of Anglo-Saxon civilization instead of the stories of imperialism, dollar diplomacy, and lynchings which they are wont to associate with the United States.

The Union publishes its monthly magazine, the *Pan American Union Bulletin*, in English, Spanish, and Portuguese, as well as pamphlets and maps; it maintains an extensive Pan-American library which is available to the public, and keeps the archives of the Pan-American Conferences. It sets the date, selects the place of meeting, and prepares the program for the international conferences known as the Pan-American Conferences.

Shift in Policies of the United States. — Until the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration, the United States had repeatedly rebuffed the attempts of the Latin-American nations to form mutual-assistance pacts guaranteeing to come to the aid of any American nation threatened by another nation. The Latin-American nations had come to think of the Monroe Doctrine as an imperialistic attitude of the United States. The right of the United States to intervene in Haiti and Nicaragua was severely disputed by the other American nations.

At the sixth Pan-American Conference, which met in Havana in 1928, delegates from 13 of the 21 states represented urged the

resolution against the right of one state to intervene in the affairs of another. Charles Evans Hughes defended America's temporary intervention in Haiti and Nicaragua, and a further consideration of the right of intervention was postponed for the seventh Pan-American Conference.



PAN-AMERICAN CONFERENCE AT LIMA, PERU

Mr. Cordell Hull, United States Secretary of State, delivers his first speech before the delegates at the Conference.

Before the time for the seventh conference, which met at Buenos Aires in 1936, the administration in the United States had shifted to the anti-imperialism of Franklin D. Roosevelt. President Roosevelt aided in the withdrawal of all troops from the Caribbean countries, in the establishing of greater autonomy in Cuba, and in the setting up of the independent Philippine Republic. In this way active measures toward anti-imperialism were enforced.

President Roosevelt sent his Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, at the head of our delegation to this seventh Conference, with a "good neighbor" policy toward Latin America. At the Conference Mr. Hull visited the Latin-American delegations in a democratic and sincere manner; and he was so successful that the press of Argentina changed from its long-standing

antagonism toward the United States to an attitude of co-operation and friendship. Just after the adjournment of this seventh Conference, President Roosevelt made the solemn declaration that "the definite policy of the United States from now on is one opposed to armed intervention."

This seventh Conference was the first in several decades at which the relations between the United States and the South American nations were mutually friendly, as armed intervention by the United States in some of the Latin-American nations had built up a resentment that was felt in the Conferences.

In July, 1938, through the efforts of the Pan American Union, the League of Nations, and the active interest of the American republics, a special meeting was held in Buenos Aires at which final peace negotiations between Bolivia and Paraguay over the Gran Chaco were signed. The Presidents of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Peru, the United States, and Uruguay were arbiters and set the final boundaries which had been disputed for a century.

Lima Conference. — In December of 1938 the eighth Pan-American Conference met in Lima, Peru. The long-anticipated Declaration of Solidarity with the United States in full accord was made and is known as the Declaration of Lima. This declaration was not binding in a military way, yet recognized the value to each of the nations of having a mutual understanding with the other American nations that each would respect the "personality, sovereignty, and independence of each American State." The decision to confer together when any danger threatened was agreed upon.

In addition to the Declaration the Conference planned for an international exchange of cultures through the building of libraries, and exchange of students and teachers.

1940 Restatement of the Monroe Doctrine. — Anticipating any outcome of World War II which might put the possessions of Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium, France, or Great Britain under the domination of the totalitarian powers of Europe, President Roosevelt sponsored a resolution which was passed by Congress, declaring that the "United States would

not recognize any transfer and would not acquiesce in any attempt to transfer any geographic region of the Western Hemisphere from one non-American power to another non-American power."

At the collapse of the French resistance to Germany and Italy, the United States sent direct statements to the European powers involved in the war stressing that declaration and indicating that force would be used if necessary in keeping the Monroe Doctrine for the Americas.

The French, Dutch, and British Guianas on the northeastern coast of South America, their insular possessions in the Caribbean, and Greenland were all considered in the restatement of the Doctrine, as any of them could be used as bases for direct attack on the Americas, and would make the Western Hemisphere definitely vulnerable in case the totalitarian states attempted an invasion.

Monroe Doctrine Now a Pan-American Policy. — In the summer of 1940, immediately after the fall of France, the need for a much closer co-operation and understanding was brought home to the Americas in preventing any Axis domination of the French and Dutch colonies in the Caribbean. A conference of the American Republics was called at Havana, Cuba, in July, 1940, out of which came the understanding known as the Act of Havana. The terms of this Act may be summarized as follows:

1. The American Republics expressed unanimous opposition to the transfer of any European possessions in the Western Hemisphere to the control of another non-American power.

2. If such a transfer seemed imminent, the American nations would establish a provisional administration until the colony was able to govern itself. The administration would be managed by one representative from each of the signatory nations.

3. The American nations would resist by united action any aggression from without the hemisphere.

When Japan attacked the United States all the Central American and Caribbean countries declared war against the Axis. Mexico and Brazil soon followed. All South American nations, except Argentina, broke diplomatic relations with them.

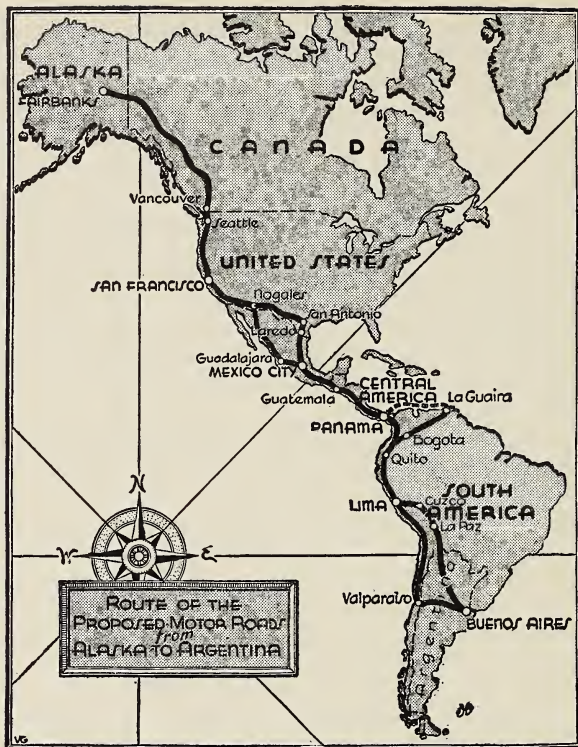
New Activities of the United States in Pan-Americanism. — The increased activities of the Department of State because of the war made it difficult for the usual agencies of the Department to carry on the necessary program of expanding commercial and cultural relations in the Western Hemisphere. Therefore, to expedite the work the President and the Council of National Defense set up the Office of Co-ordination of Commercial and Cultural Relations between the American Republics. Large sums have been made available for the work, covering chiefly commercial, financial, cultural, and communications activities.

This Office has aided in obtaining priorities for machinery and materials to develop copper and other minerals needed by the United States for defense, has mobilized shipping facilities, and has greatly increased the inter-American trade.

Joint Defense Activities. — All of Latin America together had only 111 fighting ships in 1940. Airplanes were few, and South America realized the immense task it would have in defending itself. A Latin-American military mission was organized and sent to the United States to help work out joint plans for defense. Since 1940 the United States has made several sizable loans for building air and naval bases in South America that the United States may use if needed, and has granted reciprocal use of our air and naval bases. Plans have been developed with Mexico and Canada for joint action.

Economic factors play a big part in the loyalties of nations. Hence the efforts to minimize the hardships from the loss of world markets by increasing trade in the Americas and developing self-sufficiency may prove the decisive factor in maintaining solidarity.

Pan-American Highway. — The long-dreamed-of Pan-American Highway extending from Alaska to Argentina is nearing completion. The Alaskan section built by the United States and Canada is already in use. The remaining sections of the road through southern Mexico and on to the Panama Canal are now being constructed and are expected to be in use by 1945. This is made possible by loans, engineers, road-building equipment, and structural material from the United States.



Courtesy New York Times

PAN AMERICAN HIGHWAY WHEN FINISHED

In South America most of the road is completed and surfaced, except through some of the mountain and jungle areas.

We are interested in this highway because we need a defense land route to Alaska and to the Panama Canal, we desire the commercial opportunities thus made more available, and we believe that travel will strengthen friendly relations. Peru's section is the old Inca highway along which Peru has built tourist hotels.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. What type of news stories about the United States would most probably appeal to the readers in South America? Would this give them an accurate impression of the general conditions in the United States? What does the Pan American Union do to help build an accurate understanding of both North and South America?

2. Who are the members of the governing board of the Union?

3. What are the regular services of the Union to the people of both continents?

4. The South American countries have resented the interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine which allowed the United States to intervene in the affairs of the Latin-American countries to maintain peace and keep European forces out. Why? What change in this policy has been made during Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration?

PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Why do you suppose President Roosevelt had the Buenos Aires Conference declare the principle that no country should intervene in another for the collection of debts owed its citizens when foreign governments are indebted to our citizens? How does this policy affect our citizens whose property has been practically confiscated in Mexico?

2. Some Latin-American politicians would substitute Latin-Americanism for Pan-Americanism. Would this be a forward or a backward step? Some North Americans would substitute an American League of Nations for the former World League of Nations. Would this be a forward or a backward step? Give reasons.

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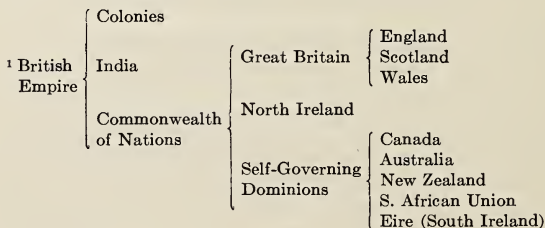
CHAPTER IX

GREAT BRITAIN

Kind of Government. — Great Britain¹ has a centralized constitutional parliamentary government, which Bagehot calls a “disguised republic.” The Parliament in London has unlimited powers and makes the laws for all of Great Britain. During the World War the same Parliament that appropriated \$10,000,000,000 for the prosecution of war also limited the height of women’s shoes to seven inches.

Constitutional government is enjoyed by the British people, although Great Britain does not have a definitely written constitutional document. But a written constitution does not make a constitutional government. Russia has a constitution of great length, yet it does not have constitutional government. Constitutional government will not work unless the people are educated, have a law-abiding tradition, and those in authority have proper consideration for the rights of those out of authority.

When an Englishman speaks of the British constitution he has in mind such fundamental laws as the Bill of Rights and the Habeas Corpus Act, or laws dealing with the organization of government such as the Union of Scotland Act (1707), or the procedure of government such as the Parliament Act of 1911



restricting the powers of the House of Lords ; or he may mean the old fundamental common law of England, or treaties, or even such customs as that which denies the King the right of vetoing bills.

In England an unconstitutional law means one opposed to the spirit of the fundamental laws of Great Britain but does not mean that the law is void and cannot be enforced. Parliament is sovereign and can make any law it chooses. As Bagehot says,



• OFFICIAL CORONATION PICTURE OF THE ROYAL FAMILY

Princess Royal, Duchess of Gloucester, Duke of Gloucester, Queen Mary, King George VI, Queen Elizabeth, Duke and Duchess of Kent and Queen of Norway, with Princesses Margaret Rose and Elizabeth standing in front of the King.

"It can do anything but make a man a woman or a woman a man." If it enacted a law condemning all red-headed persons, for instance, the courts would be legally obliged to enforce the law. However, there is a strong feeling in Great Britain that none of the old fundamental laws should be changed without the election of a new Parliament while the proposed change is under consideration. By this indirect referendum the consent of the majority of the voters is insured.

Parliamentary government exists in Great Britain because the King and his ministers are responsible to Parliament. That is, the King never takes any legal action which displeases Parliament; and if the Prime Minister and his Cabinet attempt to carry out policies contrary to the wishes of Parliament, they are forced to resign.

The King. — The Parliament Act of Succession (1701) makes the crown hereditary.¹ Since this act was passed the Hanoverian dynasty has reigned. It was renamed "Saxe-Coburg and Gotha" in 1910, and "Windsor" during the World War.

The early English kings were absolute. For instance, when Henry VIII had Anne Boleyn² executed one day and married Jane Seymour the next, the Parliament, being assured in a speech by the Lord Chancellor that these acts of the King were not the result of "any carnal concupiscence," promptly passed an act declaring that "it was all done of the King's most goodness," and Parliament did not interfere with the King's murderous act. It was during the same reign in 1528 that a servile Parliament passed an act releasing the King from all debts due to his subjects which he had incurred by way of forced loans.

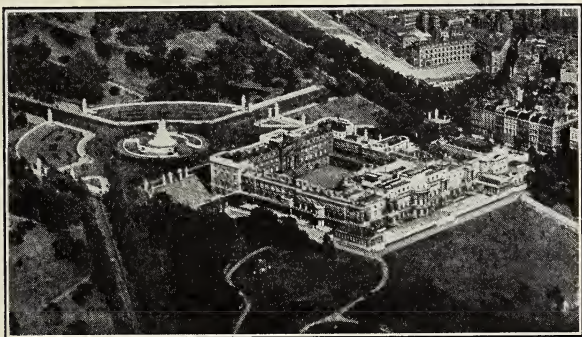
After the revolution of 1689, William of Orange signed the Bill of Rights which reaffirmed ancient rights of people and Parliament. When George I and George II reigned they could not easily speak English and they left the affairs of the government in the hands of the ministers; hence the development of the important position of the Prime Minister. Victoria's long reign further weakened the power of the monarch. It is said that the tears that Queen Victoria wept over the tomb of Prince Albert watered the seed of English liberty.

Nominally the King has retained his ancient powers, such as dissolving Parliament, vetoing bills, making war and peace, making treaties, commanding the army and navy, appointing all high officials, and granting pardons. Practically he exercises none of these powers. They are exercised by the ministers, and

¹ The eldest surviving son succeeds to the throne. If there is no son, the eldest daughter reigns.

² Boleyn is pronounced bööl'ín.

the King signs the documents as a matter of course. For instance, a king or queen has not dared to veto a bill since Queen Anne vetoed the Scottish Military Bill in 1707. Even if his own death warrant were presented to the King, he would have to sign it or resign. The King cannot carry on an official conversation with a representative of a foreign power unless the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs is present. His speech from the throne is prepared by the Prime Minister. Some minister is responsible to Parliament for every public act of the King.



BUCKINGHAM PALACE

This is one of the numerous residences of the King of England.

Henry VIII was absolute enough to order the death of a minister. Later ministers became responsible to Parliament, and "since the King could do no wrong" it ascribed the wrong to the minister and prescribed a death penalty for giving the King bad advice. Later Parliament became more humane and merely impeached the minister. Now the ministers are very sensitive to the wishes of the people as expressed by Parliament, and they resign when Parliament refuses to pass a bill which a minister proposes, or upon a mere vote of censure.

The King has at least three political rights: the right to be informed, the right to advise, and the right to warn. The Prime Minister sends a daily letter to the King, including an account

of the proceedings of Parliament and the secret discussions of the Cabinet. Ministers come and go but the King is permanent and unswayed by party necessities. He can say to his minister, with all the weight of his experience and position: "Yes, I will, if you insist, do as you wish; but, I warn you, you are doing a rash thing. Do you remember so and so?" But the King must not give his warning in public; he must not *seem* to overrule his ministers.

The constitution prevents the King from doing harm, but he may do much good. The people will flock to hear the King speak, and if he displays tact, graciousness, and benevolence, he can promote contentment and good government. He is a symbol of authority that appeals to the imagination of the people — especially those of the British dominions.

Instead of the old incomes that the Kings enjoyed from various sources, the Parliament now grants a definite sum, known as the "Civil List," which remains the same throughout the reign of a king. The present King receives annually 410,000 pounds (nearly \$2,000,000), of which 110,000 pounds is appropriated to the private purse of the King and Queen; 134,000 pounds to the salaries and retiring allowances of the royal household; 152,800 pounds to the household expenses; and 13,200 pounds for alms and bounty. In addition to this Queen Mary, widow of King George V, receives 70,000 pounds; Princess Elizabeth 6000 pounds (to be increased to 25,000 pounds when she becomes twenty-one); Margaret Rose 6000 pounds when she becomes twenty-one; and 33,800 pounds for the Duke of Gloucester, who devotes all his time to royal duties and who will become regent for Princess Elizabeth should her father die during her minority.

Why Edward VIII Abdicated the British Throne. — Edward VIII, the bachelor monarch, aged 42, abdicated the throne December 11, 1936, having reigned uncrowned since the death of his father, George V. He was succeeded by his brother, the Duke of York, who chose the title of George VI.

In Great Britain it is an established precedent that the King cannot marry without the approval of the government in

power. If his wife is to be Queen she should be of royal blood. King Edward had for several years been much in the company of Mrs. Wallis ("Wally") Simpson, originally of Baltimore, once divorced from a naval officer, and planning another divorce from Mr. Simpson. The government would not consent to Mrs. Simpson's becoming Queen because she was not of royal descent and because a commoner having been twice divorced would lack



KING EDWARD VIII BROADCASTS HIS ABDICATION

the universal respect that is desired for a Queen. The government would not even give its consent to a morganatic marriage by which the wife would not be Queen.

After much undesirable publicity regarding the King's Mediterranean cruise with friends, including the then married Mrs. Simpson, and the refusal of the government to permit the King to marry the woman he wanted, he decided to abdicate. It was agreed that after his abdication his successor would appoint him Duke of Windsor — reviving an old title not used since the fourteenth century, when it was borne by the Black Prince.

King Edward signed the abdication December 10th. The next day Parliament enacted the Abdication Bill. That night

David Windsor, formerly King Edward VIII, read a radio message to the world. In it he wished the welfare of his country, expressed his loyalty to the new King George VI, and made the following human interest declaration :

“I have found it impossible to carry the heavy burden of responsibility and to discharge my duties as King as I would wish to do without the help and support of the woman I love.”

There was also a political side to the abdication. Prime Minister Baldwin did not like the King's statements as to what he was going to do. For instance, when Edward visited the depressed mining areas of Wales he stated that he would do something to relieve the situation. His intention was noble, but his method was unconstitutional. He should have worked through the Prime Minister and given the party in power credit for benefits bestowed upon the miners. The King must not intermeddle in politics. He must be a neutral — a reserve pilot to keep the ship of state afloat in times of political emergency.

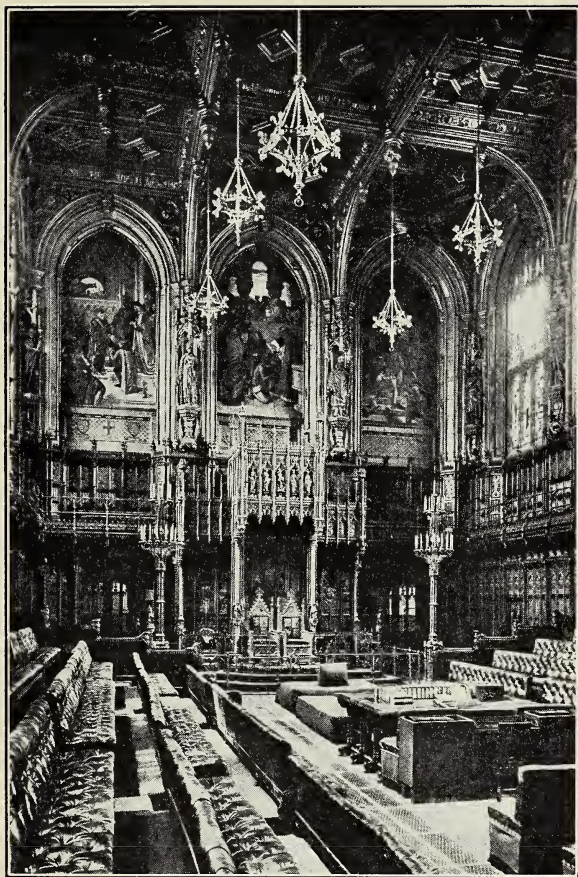
When it came to a test of strength between the King and Prime Minister Baldwin, who represented the people, even the opposition Labor Party supported “The Government.” Great Britain wants a constitutional monarch — not a dictator.

The Privy Council of the King has ceased to be an active body, but consists of several hundred ministers, ex-ministers, and other persons of distinction who are “too good for hell and not good enough for heaven” — that is, too good to be knighted and not good enough to be made peers. The whole body meets only upon such extraordinary occasions as the coronation of a new king or queen. It is pledged to secrecy, and there is no danger of its divulging secrets because it knows none.

The House of Lords. — The Parliament of Great Britain consists of the House of Lords and the House of Commons. The House of Lords is composed of about 740 members who have obtained their seats in one of the following ways :

(1) Hereditary right — eldest son succeeding father.

(2) Appointment by the Sovereign. Upon the advice of the Prime Minister the Sovereign may create any number of hereditary peerages. It is customary to make peers of all ex-speakers of the House of Com-



HOUSE OF LORDS AND THE ROYAL THRONES

Note the famous "woolsack" on which the Lord Chancellor sits when presiding.

mons. Other successful men in various lines are granted the honor. Sometimes a handsome contribution to the campaign fund causes one to be raised to the peerage.

(3) Holding ecclesiastical positions. There are two archbishops and 24 bishops.

(4) Election for life. The Irish peers are allowed to elect 28 of their number to serve for life. (Ten vacancies are unfilled.)

(5) Election for duration of Parliament. The Scottish peers elect 16 of their number for each Parliament.

(6) Appointment to the highest court of Great Britain. The whole House of Lords once constituted the highest court, but today the judges of this court are appointed peers for life only. They conduct the court which is still known as the House of Lords.

The House of Lords has gradually lost its powers. And according to the Parliament Act of 1911 the House of Lords may not delay a financial measure longer than thirty days, nor may it delay any public measure more than two years. That is, if the House of Commons passes any public bill at three successive sessions, it becomes a law without the consent of the House of Lords. Thus the Lords can no longer block legislation, but they can delay it. The delay is perhaps beneficial, since it is the only check upon the House of Commons other than their deference to the Prime Minister and his Cabinet, because the English King never vetoes bills and the courts never declare laws unconstitutional. Also the Lords can perform valuable committee service and can suggest amendments which may or may not be accepted.

The power of the House of Lords to veto private bills has not been taken from them; and they perform valuable committee service in investigating the numerous private bills; for example, bills permitting cities to issue bonds and purchase a street railway or some other public service enterprise.

The picture of the House of Lords and the royal thrones on the preceding page shows the thrones for the King and Queen which are used when the King opens a session of Parliament. The cushioned seat immediately in front of the thrones is the famous woolsack upon which the Lord Chancellor sits to preside.

The House of Commons. — *Composition.* — The House of Commons consists of 615 members including 13 from Northern Ireland; English, Welsh, and Scotch elected from districts of 70,000 people; members from North Ireland elected from districts of 43,000 people; and 15 university members elected by the faculty and alumni of certain universities. Members are chosen for a term not exceeding five years, but the House of Commons may be dissolved at any time by the King when directed to do so by the Prime Minister.

Suffrage. — The right to vote for members of the House is extended to all persons 21 years of age or over. A man or woman may have a second vote: (1) as an occupier for business purposes of premises worth ten pounds or more a year in a constituency other than that of his or her residence, or (2) as a holder of a degree from a designated university.

Elections. — In Great Britain all that a candidate need do to get his name on the election ballot is to file a nomination paper signed by ten qualified voters of the constituency, and deposit 150 pounds sterling. If he receives more than one eighth of the total vote on election day his deposit is returned to him. Sometimes only one candidate is nominated, and when the time for filing papers has expired he is declared elected unopposed. Neither law nor usage requires the candidate to reside in the district which he seeks to represent.

The register of voters in each constituency is made up and revised twice a year without any reference to whether an election is impending, because the date of elections is not known in advance. The registration officer appoints canvassers who go about from house to house collecting the names of all those who are qualified to vote, and under no circumstances may any one vote unless his name is on this register.

The only national officers elected by the people of Great Britain are the representatives to the House of Commons. Therefore the ballot used in parliamentary elections is short and simple, and it bears no party designation. When the poll is closed the ballots are brought to a central place and counted by reliable officials. If an election is contested, the matter is not

decided by Parliament, as in America by Congress, but in court by two judges.

Organization. — The speaker is originally named by the Prime Minister and elected by the House. He becomes impartial and is re-elected by either party as long as he wants to serve; and then he is usually given a liberal pension and raised to the peerage.

In the United States nearly 80 committees of Congress and 1000 committees of our state legislatures prepare bills; but



HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT AND WESTMINSTER BRIDGE, LONDON

This nineteenth century gothic structure covers eight acres. Note "Big Ben" in the Clock Tower, and Westminster Abbey to the left.

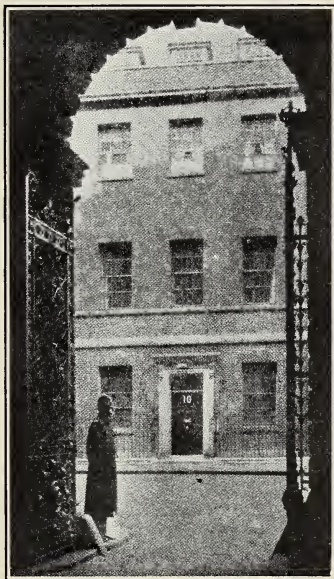
in Great Britain practically all important bills are carefully prepared by the Cabinet. Therefore finance and certain other important bills are considered only in Committee of the Whole. There are only half a dozen standing committees and such special committees as needed.

Compensation. — Members receive 600 pounds per annum, less than \$2500. Until 1911 they were unpaid.¹ A liberal salary for a public official is democratic for two reasons. First, a person without wealth can accept the position, and second, he

¹ Members of the House of Lords are not paid.

will endeavor to please the voters so that he may retain the position.

The Prime Minister and Cabinet. — The Prime Minister, assisted by a Cabinet, is the real head of the government. After an election for members of the House of Commons, if the leadership is not evident, the majority party holds a caucus and selects its leader. The King names this leader to administer the government. He is known as the Prime Minister. He, in turn, designates a number of persons for the King to appoint as administrators of the various departments under the leadership of the Prime Minister. Collectively, these are known as the Ministry. The Prime Minister invites about a score of these ministers into secret meeting and these constitute the Cabinet. They are normally of the same party as the Prime Minister. They are called the Cabinet because they at first met in the Cabinet



NO. 10 DOWNING STREET, LONDON
This is the official residence of the Prime Minister.

room of the King. But since the days of George I, who could not speak English, the King has not attended the meetings — the Prime Minister takes his place.

In the Cabinet meetings not only is the administration of the government discussed but also its legislative policies. All important bills originate in the Cabinet. They are then debated in the House of Commons, where amendments are proposed and

may be accepted by the Prime Minister. After that the bill is usually passed.¹ Parliament does not add items or increase items in the annual budget bill which has been prepared by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and approved by the Cabinet. If the Commons refuse to pass a Cabinet measure, the Prime Minister and the Ministry resign, or if they think the voters favor the measure, the Prime Minister may tell the King to dissolve Parliament. A new election is immediately called, and if a majority is returned who favor the measure, the Cabinet continue and Parliament passes the bill.

The People. — Once the King governed Great Britain. Now the Prime Minister governs it. The difference is that the representatives of the people choose the new ruler and can get rid of him at any time by merely refusing to pass his bills. By the present arrangement the efficiency of monarchy is retained but the policy is subject to the will of the people. For instance, Prime Minister Gladstone, on one occasion, presented a bill to Queen Victoria for her signature in a manner which she resented. She said, "I am the Queen of England." Gladstone replied, "I am the people of England." The will of the people prevailed.

Efficiency of British Courts. — In the United States the popular election of state judges draws the courts into politics and thus renders them susceptible to political influence. But in Great Britain all judges are appointed and hold office for life. Sheriffs, clerks, and prosecuting attorneys are also appointed and have permanence of tenure.

The British judges have great discretion in dealing with legal technicalities and the cases move much more rapidly in England than in the United States. Only *barristers* who are specialists in presenting evidence are allowed to conduct cases. The less experienced lawyers, called *solicitors*, solicit legal business, ferret out the evidence, and turn the cases over to the barristers for trial.

¹ It must be remembered that the Parliament is, as its name implies, a "talking shop." The House of Commons is important as a training ground for statesmen, as a body to select the Prime Minister, and as a body to watch and criticize him and his ministers. It is hardly a legislative body in the American sense.

Juries are seldom used for unimportant cases; and for the most important cases the jurors are empaneled in less than one hour, whereas in the United States we often spend days giving the defense an opportunity to pick the jury in favor of the defendant. Moreover, the judges rule the court room and will not tolerate the manhandling of witnesses.

By keeping abreast with their calendars, the British judges prevent long delays which result in denials of justice.

Political Parties.—British factions once decided matters by breaking heads instead of counting them; by battle-axes instead of ballots. But by the eighteenth century the Whigs and the Tories were regular parties, and during the nineteenth century the Whigs and the Tories gradually became known



PLYMOUTH IN DEVONSHIRE

Politics are as conservative as the countryside.

as the Liberals and the Conservatives;¹ but during the present century a third party has evolved, known as the Labor Party. Aided by universal suffrage, including woman suffrage (1918), the Labor Party has become the chief opposition party.

The Labor Party represents trade unions, coöperative societies, and socialist societies. It favors the nationalization of railroads, banks, workmen's homes, mines, and perhaps land. While the Labor Party proposes that the government pay for these properties the Conservatives oppose the principle of government ownership and also fear that the radical wing of the

¹ The Conservative Party is also called the Unionist Party because in the controversy over home rule for Ireland it favored the union of the two countries.

Laborites may come into power and confiscate these properties through laws passed by the House of Commons.

In 1927 when the Conservative Party had a large majority in both houses, the Duke of Northumberland said, "If we are to attain a haven of shelter we had better seize the opportunity, which will almost certainly be the last offered us, of putting this House in a position to play that part which it has so often before played in history — that of providing the last line of defense against the forces of tyranny and chaos."

Viscount Elibank said, "I think the Labor Party is rather in the guise of a boa constrictor lying in wait to swallow us whole as soon as they get the opportunity."

Proposals. — Mindful of the fact that acts of Parliament are never declared unconstitutional, that the King never vetoes laws, and that the House of Lords can delay public bills only two years, the Lords feared that universal suffrage would place radicals in control of the all-powerful House of Commons. Therefore, in 1927, the Conservative Cabinet decided to test whether public opinion would permit the Conservatives to reform and strengthen the House of Lords. The storm of protest was so violent that the matter never came to a vote.

Election of 1935. — Since entering office in 1931 the Conservatives had promoted high protective tariff, had balanced the budget, had reduced unemployment, had imposed high progressive income and inheritance taxes on the rich, and had done many things that we Americans consider liberal.

Riding on the high tide of their success at Geneva, the Conservatives called an election for November 14, 1935 — a full year before the expiration of the five-year term. This was good strategy, as the strong support of the League of Nations was extremely popular. The Conservatives argued for increased defenses for the League as well as for the Empire. This argument was difficult for the Laborites to answer, for they have backed the League all along. The events on the continent had drawn the Conservatives and Laborites into the same camp regarding foreign policy. The Conservatives wanted to be strong for the Empire, and the Laborites wanted to be strong for the League.

The Conservatives won over the Labor Party by a majority of more than 2 to 1, and Stanley Baldwin continued as Prime Minister. When he resigned, Neville Chamberlain succeeded him ; but after his appeasement policy failed and Great Britain was faring badly in the war, he was replaced by the powerful and aggressive Winston Churchill. Parliament gave him dictatorial powers for the period of the war, if needed ; but he governed in a democratic fashion with a coalition Cabinet of Conservatives and Laborites. Thus the Labor Party dropped its peacetime issues and co-operated with the Conservatives during the war.

The life of the present House of Commons, which was due to expire in 1940, was prolonged for another year, and — as in World War I — will be further prolonged until peacetime. Since the outbreak of war, the three major parties have agreed not to contest by-elections, so when a seat becomes vacant a member of the party previously holding it is elected to fill it.

Great Britain Moving towards a Managed Society. — After the World War the United States and practically all other nations raised their tariff walls sky high. Great Britain was slow in leaving its long-established free trade policy, but in 1931 the Conservative government inaugurated high tariffs.

In Great Britain the Conservative Party is realistic, and proverbially they steal the thunder of the liberal or labor groups. So in 1937 the Conservatives agreed to pay coal mine owners over a period of years 15 times their estimated average yearly income from coal royalties in return for the extinction of their claims to all future royalties, and since 1942 the government has owned and operated the mines.

Great Britain has carried on an extensive slum clearance and low-rent housing program, financed largely by the government. The government's control of farm marketing is comparable to that in the United States. And a most interesting program is the taxation of looms to raise a fund which pays owners of old looms for destroying their antiquated ones. These British moves have been gradual and relatively efficient. Instead of substituting wheelbarrows and shovels for powerful road machinery to give work to more W.P.A. laborers, Great

Britain is substituting the most up-to-date looms for the old so that cloth can be produced more cheaply and can compete with Japanese-made cloth.

Foreign Policy of Great Britain. — Following the World War Great Britain placed hope in collective security through the League of Nations; a great pacifist movement developed in the British Isles; and less attention was paid to preparedness than before the World War.

By 1938, when Italy and Germany had made armament their chief national industries, Great Britain formed an alliance with France, agreeing to plan how the armies and navies of the two countries would co-operate should certain situations arise.

Russia was not included in this arrangement because both the British and French governments were opposed to communism. Prime Minister Chamberlain of Great Britain underestimated the strength of Russia and followed the policy of appeasing Hitler rather than combining with Russia in a stop-Hitler movement.

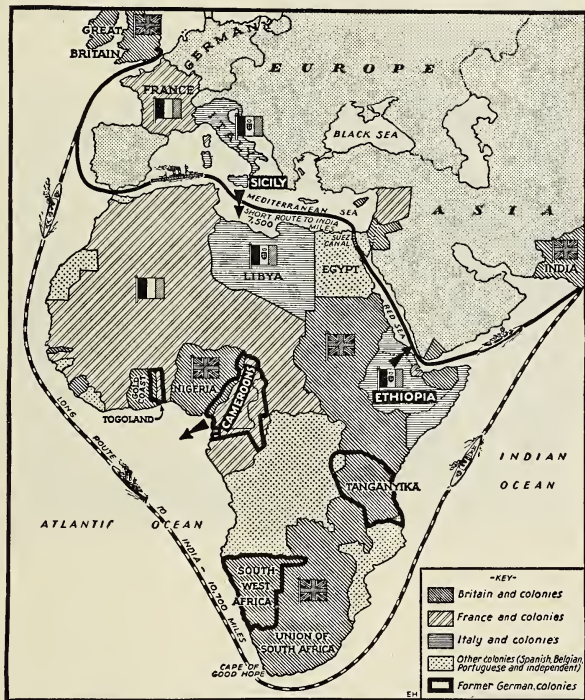
Likewise, Great Britain attempted to appease Italy, and recognized the annexation of Ethiopia by Italy.

Also in 1938 Great Britain endeavored to remove the possibility of an enemy to her rear by settling long-standing differences with Ireland. Tariff barriers were lowered, a lump sum was promised Great Britain as a complete settlement for money advanced to Irish land-owners before the separation of Ireland from Great Britain, and Ireland was allowed to fortify important ports with the co-operation of Great Britain.

The Munich Accord Regarding Czechoslovakia. — Early in 1938 Germany seized Austria, and in the autumn was about to seize the German portion of Czechoslovakia by force if necessary. France and Russia had agreed to stand by Czechoslovakia if attacked. Great Britain was not obligated to Czechoslovakia,¹ but should France become involved in a war with Germany-Italy in defense of Czechoslovakia, Great Britain knew it would

¹ Territorial integrity was promised by the League of Nations, of which Great Britain was a member, but by this time Czechoslovakia realized that there was no help available through this organization.

have to come to the aid of France, its ally. Neville Chamberlain, then Prime Minister of Great Britain, wanted to avert war for four reasons: first, he deplored war; second, he feared that in event of war Japan would seize British possessions in the East;

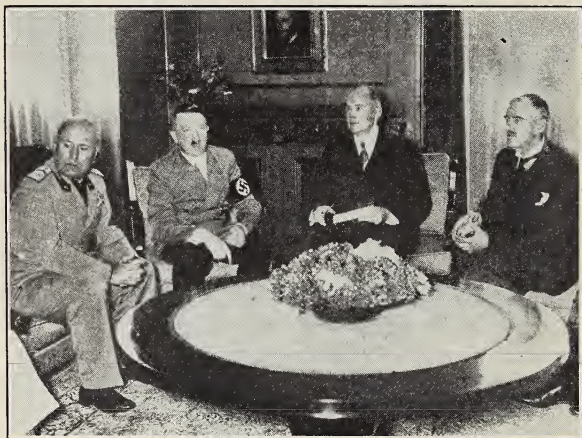


Courtesy of New York Times

BRITISH LIFELINES BEFORE WORLD WAR II

third, he did not want to fight with communistic Russia against capitalistic Germany; and fourth, Germany and Italy were better prepared for war than France and Great Britain, and especially as Poland, Hungary, and Japan would have prevented much assistance by Russia.

With these few facts in mind, Mr. Chamberlain on September 15 humbled himself by flying to Munich and taking train to Hitler's mountain retreat at Berchtesgaden. Again, September 22, he met Hitler at Godesberg, where Hitler declared that the Sudetenland of Czechoslovakia was his last territorial ambition in Europe, and that he had no wish to include non-German peoples in the Third Reich; and on September 29 he again



MUNICH CONFERENCE

Mussolini, Hitler, and Chamberlain talk it over with the help of an interpreter.

flew to the famous Munich conference to which Hitler had invited Mussolini, the Premier of France, and Mr. Chamberlain. Here the fate of Czechoslovakia was sealed. France would not assist Czechoslovakia, and Czechoslovakia had to cede to Germany all that she demanded. (See Chapter XIX.) Great Britain had prevented a World War — just for the time being.

In 1939 Hitler ignored his promise made to Chamberlain at Munich and occupied all of Czechoslovakia except a small area which he allowed Hungary to take. With this breach of

promise and this clear indication that Hitler was a conqueror and not merely regaining lost Germans, Great Britain and France agreed to protect Poland if invaded by the German forces. On September 1, 1939, Germany attacked Poland, and Great Britain and France attempted to make good their promise.

World War II. — France was invaded by Hitler, and in July, 1940, she capitulated to Germany, leaving the British to carry



PORTABLE SHELTER TESTED AT BIRMINGHAM

The shelter is designed to give protection during air raids. A thousand German bombing planes could reach London in less than two hours, unload their cargoes at 20,000 feet, and return for a new load. The man on the street would never have seen the planes, but London would be a shambles.

on alone the struggle against Germany and Italy. The British navy kept intact her lifelines with the British dominions, Hitler divided his forces for his drive to the east, the United States acted as a defense against Japan, and the British strengthened their army in Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Iraq, and Iran, as a defense of the Suez Canal, the oil fields of the Near East, and India.

Great Britain and the United States. — The isolationist

policy of the United States changed to a positive defense policy when the onward march of Hitler made it apparent that if the British were defeated we would have to meet him alone in the future, or live in isolation in a Hitler-dominated world.

With the same language, law, and religion, and the same racial traits regarding democratic liberty, it was natural that we should co-operate with the British Commonwealth of Nations.

In 1940 we exchanged fifty old destroyers for 99-year leases of sites for naval and air bases in the Atlantic and Caribbean. Early in 1941 the United States Congress passed the Lend-Lease Act which committed us to full aid for the British in the struggle. Billions of dollars worth of planes, tanks, munitions, food, and clothing were sent to the British Isles or British outposts where they were most needed. Our shipyards built and repaired ships for the British, and our Navy patrolled their shipping lanes.

In 1941 President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill met in the north Atlantic to plan for closer collaboration. They also set forth the war aims of the Democracies in the Eight Points of the Atlantic Charter. (See App. III.) Since the United States entered the war they have more than once met and conferred concerning the conduct of the war.

Beveridge Plan for Postwar England. — The Labor Party in England naturally advocates social security for laborers; the head of the English Church is just as active in advocating social security for all; and in 1942 Sir William Beveridge prepared an elaborate report for the British Cabinet which advocates a unity of the existing social-security services and their extension to everybody, without distinction of sex, class, age, or income.

This Beveridge Plan proposes free medical and hospital treatment, health insurance, unemployment insurance, retirement pensions, marriage grants, maternity insurance, workmen's compensation, an allowance for each child under 15, and funeral insurance.

Everybody with a job or an income would be expected to contribute. Different groups would pay different amounts, depending upon the benefits they could expect.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Why is Great Britain called a "disguised republic"?
2. What does an Englishman mean by "Constitutional Government"?
3. What is meant by "Parliamentary Government"?
4. What three political rights does the King of Great Britain still have?
5. What is meant by the King's "Civil List"?
6. Explain why Edward VIII abdicated the British throne.
7. Of whom does the House of Lords consist? What are its powers? Who creates new members?
8. Of whom does the House of Commons consist? By whom elected?
9. Explain the British system of elections.
10. Explain how the Prime Minister is chosen. What are his powers?
11. Explain the efficiency of the British courts.
12. For what do the respective British parties stand?
13. Describe the election of 1935.
14. How is Great Britain moving towards a managed society?
15. Explain the Munich accord regarding Czechoslovakia.
16. How did Great Britain become involved in World War II?
17. How have Great Britain and the United States drawn more closely together?

PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Pleading for the executive type of government for the United States, John Adams once said, "We may appeal to every page of history we have hitherto turned over for proofs irrefragable that the people, when they have been unchecked, have been as unjust, tyrannical, brutal, barbarous, and cruel as any king or a senate possessed of uncontrollable power: the majority has eternally and without one exception usurped over the rights of the minority." To prevent the tyranny of the majority, the United States has a strong upper house, a president with veto powers, and courts which can declare unconstitutional any statutes which they consider to deprive individuals of life, liberty, or property unreasonably ("without due process of law").

In Great Britain the representatives of the people in the House of Commons could legally cancel the entire national debt of Great Britain by passing an act which the House of Lords could merely delay two years, which the King could not veto, and which the courts could not declare unconstitutional.

Does the British Parliament or the Congress of the United States

possess the more democratic powers? Which is better devised to protect the individual against oppression by government? Which gives the majority the better chance to remove the special privileges enjoyed by the minority?

2. The members of the British House of Commons are by act of Parliament elected for not over five-year terms; but because of the war Parliament has postponed the election. Could the United States Congress postpone our elections? Discuss the merits of the two systems.

3. According to present practice in Great Britain bills are carefully considered by the Cabinet before they are introduced into Parliament. Here in the United States we have about a thousand legislative committees preparing bills which Congress and the state legislatures pass wholesale. Would we be in a worse position than Great Britain if our courts were denied the power of declaring statutes unconstitutional?

4. The British Parliament considers all bills carefully but enacts less than a hundred laws a year. Minor rules and orders are promulgated by administrative officers or boards. The more important ones are presented to Parliament in blocks, and less than one per cent are rejected. Some become effective after a specified time if not annulled by Parliament in the meantime; others become effective at once. Do you think that the Congress of the United States should be relieved of more of the routine legislation by delegating ordinance powers to administrative heads and commissions?

5. When the members of the British houses of Parliament vote, the "yeas" pass through a door to the right of the speaker and the "nays" to the left. Their votes are recorded and checked by tellers and they return to their seats through doors at the rear of the room. By this method the vote is taken in one fourth the time that it requires to record a vote in our House of Representatives. Can you think of any reason why our Congress should not vote in the British fashion and thus save weeks of time during a single session?

6. In Great Britain, where civil servants serve for life, the competitive examinations are based upon broad educational preparation and natural ability. In the United States civil service tests have usually been adapted to the particular position that is to be immediately filled. If one enters the government service with the idea of rising to the higher positions, which type of test is more practical?

7. What characteristics of a people are essential for the successful operation of constitutional government?

8. The King of England is quite popular. Do you think the royal establishment is worth the cost?

9. A member of the British House of Commons receives less than \$2500 a year. A member of our House of Representatives receives \$10,000 a year. Which is the more democratic? Which is likely to

give more protection to the poor? Under which is the member more likely to please his constituents and under which is he more likely to use his own judgment?

10. What did Gladstone mean when he said to Queen Victoria, "I am the people of England"?

11. Do you consider the efficiency of the British courts an important factor in the much smaller percentage of crime in Great Britain?

12. Critics say that the members of the majority party in the British Government hesitate to criticize the administration even when they disagree with the policy because it might unseat the Prime Minister. Explain.

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"SOME CHICKEN!"

In a speech before the House, Prime Minister Winston Churchill said: "... The French generals ... told their Prime Minister ... 'In three weeks England will have her neck wrung like a chicken.' Some chicken! Some neck!"

CHAPTER X

THE DOMINION OF CANADA, AUSTRALIA, AND IRELAND

CANADA

Why Canada Federated. — Efforts to federate the British provinces of North America were unsuccessful until 1867. During the Civil War in the United States, Great Britain and her colonies in Canada sympathized with the Southern Confederacy, and war between the United States and Great Britain, including Canada, threatened. Furthermore, immediately after the Civil War the Fenians — Irish in America who favored independence for Ireland — organized the “Republic of Ireland,” sold bonds, purchased arms that had been used in the Civil War, and invaded Canada at several places. Canadian troops immediately drove them back across the border and the United States Government compelled them to disband. The Fenians were not numerous and the movement was viewed as a farce in the United States, but in Canada the invasion made a great impression and influenced Upper Canada (Ontario). Lower Canada (Quebec), Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick to unite for strength.

British North American Act. — In 1867 the British Parliament passed the British North American Act, which is the “constitution” for the federation known as the Dominion of Canada. This Act gave the Queen authority to admit Prince Edward Island, British Columbia, and Newfoundland to the federation. The first two were soon admitted, but Newfoundland has never desired to enter the federation. The Parliament of Canada was given authority to create provinces from the extensive public domain, and it has admitted Manitoba, Alberta, and Saskatchewan. Therefore, the Dominion of Canada now consists of nine provinces and two territories,

with a population in 1941 of over 11,000,000 — approximately that of the United States in 1830.

In order to avoid war like that which had just occurred in the United States because of states' rights, the Act gave the provinces very few powers. All other powers were left to the central government. The central government was also given a veto



Courtesy Canadian Pacific Railways

LAKE LOUISE, ALBERTA PROVINCE, CANADA

• This is typical of the magnificent scenery of Western Canada.

over provincial legislation. However, by interpretation of the British North American Act, the powers of the provinces have gradually been increased.¹

The Central Government of the Dominion of Canada consists of a governor-general, a parliament, a prime minister, and a cabinet.

¹ The United States Constitution granted very few enumerated powers to the central government, but by interpretation the powers of the central government have been greatly increased. These comparative experiences of Canada and the United States indicate that Canada gave too much power to the central government and the United States too little. The South African Union profited by our mistakes and provided that each province should retain its present powers but that the Union Parliament might assume such powers as it needed and return those powers to the provinces if it ceased to need them. This is a reasonably elastic arrangement.

The Governor-General is appointed by the British King and usually serves for about five years. His relationship to the Canadian government is similar to that of the King of England to the British government. He reigns but does not rule. However, he may exert great influence if he is a man of ability. Most of the governors-general have been highly respected. They receive a salary of \$50,000 a year.



Courtesy of New York Times

SOME OF THE PRODUCTS OF CANADA

The Senate. — The upper house of the Dominion Parliament is known as the Senate and consists of ninety-six members chosen from the following provinces :

Ontario	24
Quebec	24
Maritime Provinces	24
Nova Scotia	10
New Brunswick	10
Prince Edward Island	4
Canada beyond the Great Lakes	24
Manitoba	6
Saskatchewan	6
Alberta	6
British Columbia	6
Total	96

Senators are appointed by the Governor-General on the advice of the Prime Minister and, subject to certain conditions, retain office for life. The appointments are commonly made as a reward for party service. Death or failure to attend for two consecutive parliamentary sessions creates an average of five or six vacancies a year. For these vacancies there is always a waiting list of members of the House of Commons who have tired of elections and close attendance in the House, and of owners or editors of newspapers that have faithfully supported the party in power. The compensation is \$4000 a session plus a free pass on all Canadian railroads and the franking privilege.

In Canada the Senate is not held in very high esteem, and members are considered more as pensioners than as statesmen. All government bills originate in the House, and the Senate cannot amend finance bills. The Senate can reject any bill, but in practice does not reject more than two per cent of all bills sent up from the House; and most of these are rejected just after a new party has come into power and finds the Senate packed with followers of the opposing party. Fortunately only elderly men have been appointed to the Senate, and soon a sufficient number of them die to enable a new Prime Minister to make enough appointments from his own party to gain control of this house as well as of the House of Commons.

The House of Commons. — The lower house of the Dominion Parliament is known as the House of Commons. It consists of sixty-five members from the province of Quebec and a number from each of the other provinces bearing the same proportion to their populations that sixty-five bears to the population of Quebec. The House of Commons now consists of 245 members. The apportionment is made by Parliament after each decennial census. The last two apportionments have been free from the former practice of gerrymandering; but city districts are constituted with more population than country districts. There are two reasons for this: first, because urban population with uniform interests can make itself felt more effectively than a scattered rural population; and second, because many members who represent rural constituencies reside in cities.

The franchise for electing members of the House of Commons is the same as that prescribed by the provinces for their provincial elections. Usually more than 10 per cent of the members are elected from districts other than those in which they reside. This practice enables statesmen to gain and retain office even if they live in districts that favor the opposing party.

Candidates are required to deposit the sum of \$200. To a successful candidate and to a candidate who obtains half as



Courtesy Canadian National Railways

THE PARLIAMENT HOUSE, OTTAWA,
CANADA

This building was restored after the fire of 1917, and now has the Victory Tower.

many votes as the successful candidate, this sum is returned, but not to other candidates. Members are elected for a period of five years, or less if the Governor-General dissolves the House and calls an election upon the advice of the Prime Minister. Members of the House receive \$4000 for each annual session, a free pass on all Canadian railroads, and the franking privilege.

The bi-party system of government exists in Canada as in England and the United States, and the British names, "Conservative" and "Liberal," are

used. As a rule, the Canadian press supports one or the other of these parties in an extremely biased manner.

The Prime Minister is the natural leader of the majority party in the House of Commons. At a general election, if the minority party in the last Parliament has secured a majority, the Prime Minister tenders his resignation to the Governor-General. Thereupon the Governor-General invites the leader

of the new majority party to form a new cabinet.¹ The Premier presides over the Cabinet, usually holds the office of Secretary of State for External Affairs, and assumes full responsibility for the success of the government.

Since 1905 the leader of the opposition party has received a salary, which is now \$10,000 a session in addition to the \$4000 received as a member of the House. This recognition of the value of an opposition leader to watch and criticize the government is testimony of the liberal spirit of the Canadian people and of their capabilities of self-government. Consideration on the part of the majority for the minority is the very essence of a stable government.

The Cabinet consists of about twenty members appointed nominally by the Governor-General but really by the Prime Minister. They are usually chosen from the membership of the House of Commons and become the heads of the administrative departments, prepare the important legislative bills, and are jointly responsible for the governmental policies. In Parliament they are questioned by the members of the opposition party, and must justify every official act in this public debate.

The Cabinet meets in secret. In normal times the members are all of one party, and though members may fight "like cats and dogs" in secret, outwardly they always present a solid front. They resign as a body whenever the House of Commons loses confidence in them. Thus they are responsible to the House of Commons and the House is responsible to the people. Therefore, Canada has a responsible, representative government.

The Provinces. — Each province has a lieutenant-governor, a legislature, a premier, and a cabinet. The lieutenant-governor (pronounced "lēf tēn'ānt" in Canada) is appointed by the Governor-General upon the advice of the Dominion Prime Minister. He bears the same relationship to the provincial government that the Governor-General bears to the Dominion government.

¹ The official name of the Cabinet in the British North American Act is Privy Council. It is also commonly referred to as the Executive Council.

In every province of Canada, except Quebec and Nova Scotia,¹ the legislature consists of a single house, known as the legislative assembly. Assemblymen are elected from districts for a term not to exceed four years. Suffrage is determined by each province.

The legislature of a province may change its form of government — “amend the constitution,” as Americans would say — provided the change does not conflict with the British North American Act.

The premier and cabinet of each province bear the same relationship to the lieutenant-governor that the Dominion Prime Minister and Cabinet bear to the Governor-General.

In Canada the higher judges are appointed by the central government and police judges by the provinces — both for indefinite terms. The prosecuting attorney, called “Crown Attorney,” and the sheriff for each county are appointed by the lieutenant-governor upon the advice of the provincial premier.

The French Canadians. — About one fourth of the population of Canada is of French descent and the proportion has remained about the same for many years.² The people, most of whom live in the province of Quebec, continue to speak the French language but have been separated from France for so many years that their vocabulary is very appreciably different.

The British North American Act, which united the French

¹ Quebec and Nova Scotia have upper houses known as executive councils consisting of life members. When the legislature of Quebec was established the second house was created to protect the minority of English Protestants of the province against the majority of French Catholics. Quebec is the most conservative of the provinces, and does not seem to have made any effort to abolish the upper house. Nova Scotia endeavored to rid itself of the upper house, but the life-appointed members would not vote for their own abolition.

² France ceded Canada to Great Britain in 1763. In 1774 the British Parliament passed the Quebec Act, which provided that the French Canadians should be assured their language, religion, and laws. This liberal policy conciliated the inhabitants, and when the American forces invaded Canada during the Revolutionary War the sons of those who had defended Quebec against the troops of England now fought as valiantly against the army of our Continental Congress.

and British provinces, guaranteed to the French the right to use their language as well as English in Parliament and in the legislature of Quebec. It also provided that parliamentary records, laws, and court reports should be published in both French and English. In practice French is hardly ever heard in federal courts, and in Parliament it is used less frequently than a quarter of a century ago. In all provinces, except British Columbia, there are some French-English schools where French is taught until English can be learned.



PARLIAMENT BUILDING, VICTORIA, BRITISH COLUMBIA

The political influence exerted by the French Canadians is out of proportion to their numbers. This is true because their representatives usually vote as a unit, and thus frequently hold a balance of power between the contending parties.

Canada's Relationship to Great Britain. — The self-governing dominions — Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the South African Union, and Northern Ireland — and Great Britain are known as the "British Commonwealth of Nations." If we include the colonies which do not enjoy self-government, we may still use the term "British Empire."

From time to time Canada, followed by the other self-governing dominions, has asked for a greater degree of autonomy;

and it has always been granted when the demand appeared to be serious.

According to the Imperial Conference of 1926¹ every member of the British Commonwealth of Nations is sole judge of the nature and extent of its co-operation. Great Britain is merely first among equals with the King as the legal bond. The only legal bond is the King; not the King in Council or in Parliament, but the King in person. Thus in this personal union the sovereign as King of Great Britain may be at war and as the King of Canada at peace. If the government of Great Britain wishes the military support of the other members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, she must not take steps likely to lead to war without the consent of each member. For instance, when Great Britain became involved in World War II Canada approved of the British action and voluntarily entered the War.

Great Britain has thus lost its superintendence of the Commonwealth. The King resides in London and exercises his kingly functions in regard to Great Britain, but he needs a representative (governor-general) in Canada and in each of the other dominions, to perform those functions which George VI would perform in person if it were physically possible for him to be in the capital of each of his Dominions at the same time. The Parliament of Great Britain legislates for itself; the Parliament of Canada for the Dominion of Canada.²

¹ The Imperial Conferences, composed of the prime ministers or other representatives of self-governing dominions, have been held from time to time since 1887. The gatherings of 1887, 1897, and 1902 were known as Colonial Conferences; those of 1917 and 1918 as Imperial War Conferences; the assembly of 1921 as the Premiers' Conference, and those subsequent to 1923 as Imperial Conferences. The Imperial Conference has no formal legislative power, but if the prime ministers of Great Britain and of the Dominions unanimously agree upon the relationship of the Dominions to Great Britain and to one another, the pronounced agreement is substantially as good as law.

² The difficult question of appeals from the Dominions to the British Judicial Committee of the Privy Council was left to each part of the Empire primarily affected. In Canada a case involving a constitutional question or a civil case involving \$5000 may be appealed to the Judicial Committee. How long Canada will permit this appeal to Great Britain is for Canada to decide.

Canada's Relationship to the United States 175

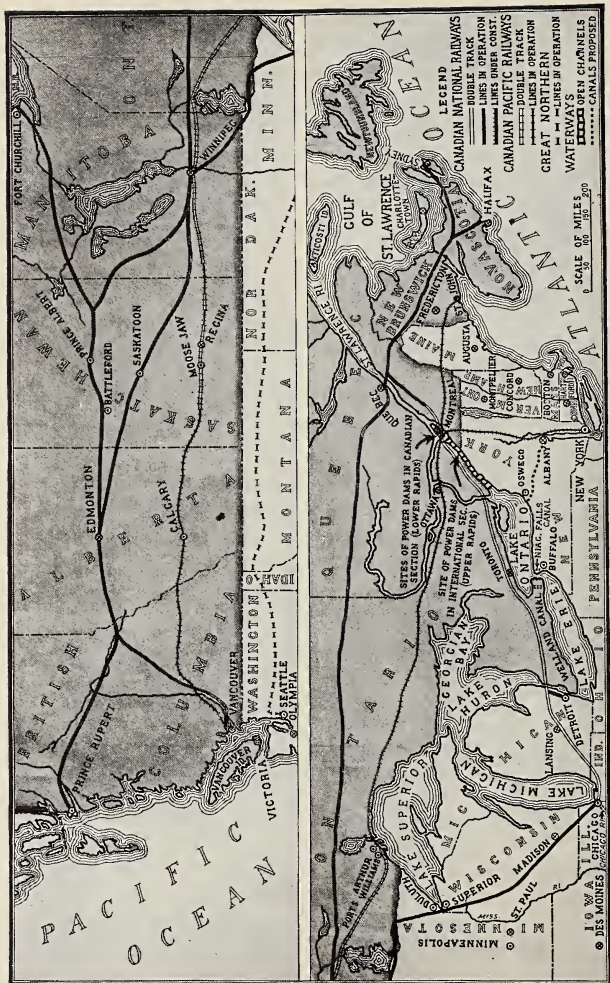
In foreign affairs, each of the British Dominions was a member of the League of Nations; and along with Great Britain they had one permanent member of the Council of the League. A Dominion may negotiate a treaty without the intervention of the diplomats of Great Britain, and it may send a minister of its own and consuls to a foreign country. For instance, Canada sends a minister to the United States and the United States sends a minister to Canada. Until a Dominion establishes its own legation in a country it is advised to use the diplomats of Great Britain.

The legal ties which hold Canada to the mother country are broken, but there is a strong sentiment for the mother country and the Empire — especially among the older Canadian families. British diplomats and consuls aid Canadian subjects in their legal and commercial international relations. And the British army and navy protect them in foreign countries and on the high seas.

Canada's Relationship to the United States. — *Cultural.* — Canadians and Americans speak the same language, except the French Canadians in Quebec; hold to the same religions; believe in much the same democratic principles; and enjoy the same standards of living. Our most populous states are adjacent to their populous provinces, and many thousands of people pass back and forth daily. Americans helped settle the prairie provinces, and about a million Canadians live in the United States. Canadians are as familiar with American magazines as are the inhabitants of the United States.

Commercial Relations. — Though high tariff walls have restricted trade between the two countries, recent reciprocal trade agreements have materially stimulated trade; and more recently military necessities have further promoted trade.

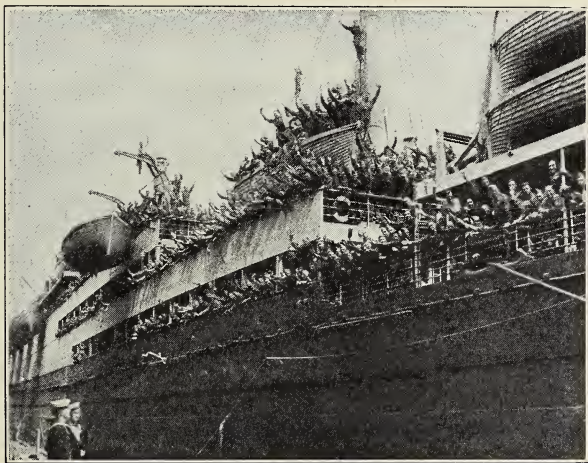
Good Will. — The three thousand miles of boundary between Canada and the United States are policed but not armed. We have mutually agreed not to build competing fleets on the Great Lakes; and in practice we do not build forts along the boundary. Many Canadians favor closer relations with the United States, but Americans have no annexation designs. As we both have



TRANSPORTATION IN CANADA

an Axis war to win, we exchange war supplies and have built a defense highway and a pipeline through Canada and Alaska.

World War II. — In 1939 Canada voluntarily entered the war against Germany, along with Great Britain, and asked for volunteers. When France was invaded in 1940 Canada enacted a



CANADIAN RE-ENFORCEMENTS SAIL FOR BRITAIN

draft law for service in Canada only ; and in a popular referendum in 1942 the majority authorized the Government to send draftees overseas. Because of French-Canadian opposition compulsory oversea service has not been put into effect ; but about as many have volunteered for oversea service as Canada can equip. Canada contributes food and other supplies to Great Britain.

AUSTRALIA

Geography. — Australia is a continent the size of the United States, lying entirely south of the equator, and is 6700 miles southwest of the United States. The climate varies from tropical in the northeast to temperate in the south. The central plateau is largely desert.

Population. — The total population of Australia is about 7,000,000. Included are about 60,000 aborigines who are probably the most primitive people in the world. They are entirely nomadic, making fire with sticks, throwing boomerangs, and killing kangaroos with spears. Except in the far region of the



American Observer

“Never Never” land, the aborigines are quite harmless. Western movies have become so popular with the aborigines that they have been known to row 400 miles to see a show.

The white settlements were originally made in British convict colonies, and many whites came in the gold rush of the 1850's. People other than whites — especially Asiatics — have been excluded. This has kept the population small and homogeneous.

Industry. — Primarily an agricultural country, Australia is the greatest wool-producing country in the world. Other important crops are wheat, oats, barley, corn, hay, potatoes, sugar

cane, sugar beets, grapes, and other fruits. Rubber production received little attention until the War cut off the normal supply. Some raw rubber is now being gathered. Steel and aluminum industries are rapidly expanding because of the War, and increasingly Australia will be able to contribute to the war effort.

Government. — The Commonwealth of Australia, formed in 1901, is a federation of New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, Western Australia, Tasmania, and Northern Territory. Its Constitution resembles closely that of the United States, in that it expressly declares that all powers not assigned to the central government belong to the states.

The Australian central government exercises more powers than the central government of the United States of America. Thus the Australian central government takes charge of banking and insurance, marriage, divorce, parental rights and guardianship, telegraphs, telephones, and railroads in time of danger.

Australia is a self-governing Dominion of the British Commonwealth of Nations. The King of England is its king, and he is represented by a Governor-General. The real head of the government is the Prime Minister who is the leader of Parliament which consists of a Senate and a House of Representatives — both popularly elected.

World War II. — The Australian and New Zealand soldiers, called "Anzacs," proved themselves valiant fighters on many battle fronts. When Australia itself was threatened by Japanese invasion, the United States sent large re-enforcements, and the United Command in this area was placed under General MacArthur. After the fall of Singapore, Australia became the strategic base for action in the Pacific, and its government was represented on the Pacific War Council in Washington, D.C.

The cooperation of the United States with Australia may bring about a permanent community of interests between the two countries. American soldiers stationed in Australia will make social contacts. Some will marry and remain there, and others will bring Australian brides home with them. War shipments will create new trade contacts. Moreover, if we emerge from the War strong, Australia may look to us for protection.

DOMINION OF NEW ZEALAND

Geography. — The two islands of New Zealand were discovered in 1642 by a Dutch navigator who named them *Nieuw Zeeland*, which means *new sea land*. They are located about 1200 miles east of Australia and extend from latitude 34 to 48 south of the equator. The country is mountainous, enjoys a moderate climate, and has an area about the same as Great Britain. Its crops are similar to those of the United States; and it is rich in coal and iron.

Population. — When Captain Cook explored the coasts between the years 1769 and 1777 he found a native intelligent brown race known as Maoris. Today they number less than 100,000. The total population of more than 1,500,000 has descended almost entirely from British settlers.

Government. — New Zealand is a self-governing Dominion of Great Britain with a parliamentary type of government. The Governor-General appointed by the British Crown cooperates with the General Assembly, which consists of an appointive Legislative Council and an elective House of Representatives. The Prime Minister is the real head of the Government.

Social Reform. — The land tax, on land only, not on improvements, has caused large estates to be divided; and there is an especially heavy tax for absentee owners. New Zealand was a pioneer in the public ownership of railroads, telegraphs, and telephones, and life-insurance and fire-insurance companies; and in the income tax, woman suffrage, compulsory arbitration of labor disputes, minimum wage, and old age pensions.

The War. — In both world wars New Zealand voluntarily joined Great Britain, and furnished many brave soldiers. It now supplies food and other materials to the American forces in Australasia.

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

Geography. — The area of the Union is 472,550 square miles. Its population is about 10,000,000, of whom 2,000,000 are whites (57% Boers, 34% British, and 9% miscellaneous). Its

climate is moderate, and its crops are like those of the United States. It is the richest gold and diamond country in the world.

History. — The Dutch first settled in Cape Colony about 1652; but during the Napoleonic Wars the British took possession. When the British abolished slavery the Dutch “Boers” (farmers) trekked to the interior across the Vaal River to Transvaal where they could have slaves; and ever since the Boers have opposed race equality. Later the British settled in Natal and the Boers in Orange Free State.

In 1902 as a result of the Boer War Britain became sovereign of Transvaal and Orange Free State as well as of Cape of Good Hope and Natal; and in 1910 united them.

Government. — The Union of South Africa is not a federation like Canada and Australia, but a unitary Dominion within the British Commonwealth of Nations. The British Crown appoints a Governor-General, but the locally chosen Prime Minister is the real head of the Government. The Parliament consists of a Senate of 40 members — 8 elected from each province and 8 named by the Governor-General, and of a House of Assembly with 135 elected members. The Capital of the Union is at Pretoria, but the Parliament meets at Cape Town.

The four elected provincial councils have delegated powers which may be withdrawn or added to by the Parliament. The ordinances passed by the provincial councils require the assent of the Governor-General; and the Administrator of each province is appointed by him.

Both English and Dutch (including *Afrikaans*, a local variant of the language of Holland) are official. In schools the two English-speaking provinces teach in English. In the Boer provinces the lower grades are taught in *Afrikaans*, but higher education is largely in English.

The War. — In the First World War General Botha, as Prime Minister, led the country to war along with the British; and in this war General Smuts, as Prime Minister, has done the same: in both wars against the opposition of the nationalistic Boers. After the Boer War the British had been liberal and won the good will of the two former enemy generals.

IRELAND OR EIRE (âr'ě)

Ireland before the British Invasion. — Patricius (St. Patrick) converted Ireland to Christianity in the fifth century. The Gospel was received with ardent enthusiasm and the ecclesiastic orders sent missionaries to Great Britain and to the Continent. Between 795 and 1014 the heathen "Danes" (Norse-



ST. PATRICK'S STATUE ON THE HILL OF TARA

Galloway

The Hill of Tara was in ancient times the chief seat of the Irish monarchs, and from it was originally brought the famous stone long used in the coronation of Scottish kings at Scone.

men) laid waste the Irish coast and built fortresses on the ruins of castle and cathedral. In time the Danes intermarried with the Irish and were absorbed by them.

From the overthrow of the Danish power (1014) until the coming of the English, civil wars raged interminably in Ireland. The wars grew out of questions of succession to the federal and provincial thrones. The four provinces — Ulster, Leinster, Munster, and Connaught — were loosely federated, and each

had its king. One of these claimed the kingship of the federation, but it was not uncommon for two of them to claim the over-kingship at the same time. Chaos also existed among the minor royal families.

The British Conquest. — The west coast of Britain had long been harried by marauders from Ireland when Henry II came to the throne of England. Ireland was full of Englishmen who had been kidnaped and sold into slavery. In 1169 Dermot, "King" of Leinster, quarreled with another "king," and invited Henry to assist him. This was the opportunity for the ambitious Henry. Fortune-seeking barons, headed by Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke, led troops to Ireland. Later Henry himself went, but he left Ireland only half conquered.

Confiscation and Colonization. — A revolt of the Irish was considered treasonable by the English, and many rulers of England confiscated the lands of the "rebels" as a penalty. During the reign of Queen Mary the country of the O'Connors in Leinster was assigned to English settlers. Queen Elizabeth put down the bloody Geraldine revolt in Munster and had the younger brothers of such English families as the Spencers and Raleighs¹ settle here. James I had the fertile land in six Ulster counties confiscated for English and Scotch Protestants, and Charles I confiscated extensive lands in Connaught.

Catholic Disabilities and Emancipation. — From the Reformation, inaugurated in England by Henry VIII, until the nineteenth century, with the exception of short periods during the reigns of Mary Tudor and James II,² the Catholics of Ireland were persecuted in one way or another in an effort to compel them to conform to the Church of England. For example,

¹ It was on the confiscated estate bestowed upon Raleigh at the mouth of the Southern Blackwater that potatoes, obtained from Virginia, were first planted in Ireland. It was also here that Raleigh's servant thought him on fire when he saw him smoking.

² The Irish Parliament of 1695 forbade Catholic school teachers to teach, and Catholic parents could not send their children abroad to be educated. Catholic clergy were ordered to leave the country within three years. No Catholic could possess a horse worth as much as five pounds, and Catholic chapels could have neither bell nor belfry. These extreme disabilities were later removed, but memory of them lasted for generations.

Catholics were excluded from the English Parliament until the Emancipation Act of 1829, when the Catholic O'Connell forced himself into the House.

Tithes were collected from persons of all denominations for the support of the English Established Church. Under the influ-



SOME PRODUCTS OF IRELAND

ence of Gladstone, Parliament passed the Disestablishment Act in 1869, and since then each church in Ireland has supported itself.

The Land Problem. — More than half of Ireland was forfeited to the Crown and given over to new owners in large estates.

Many of the landlords lived in England and turned their lands over to middlemen. Between 1816 and 1843 Parliament passed more than thirty acts in favor of landlords, but none in favor of tenants.

In 1845 the blight appeared in Ireland and famine resulted. Perhaps a million persons died of starvation and fever resulting from under-nourishment. During the next decade two millions left the country, a large proportion of them coming to the United States. Many families could not pay their rent and between 1849 and 1856 more than 50,000 families were forced to leave their farms. Parliament enacted some laws for the benefit of tenants, but not enough to make them content.

In 1861 the Fenian Society was formed in America, declared Ireland a republic, sold bonds, and just after the Civil War in the United States attempted an invasion of Canada.

In 1880 Parnell, the new Protestant leader of the Irish Catholics, told the people to punish a man for taking a farm from which another had been removed "by isolating him from his kind as if he was a leper of old." The advice was taken. For refusing to receive rents at figures fixed by the tenants, Captain Boycott, Lord Erne's agent at Mayo, was severely "boycotted," the name of the first victim being given to the new system. No servant would remain with him, no laborer would work for him, no shopkeeper would deal with him, and no neighbor would speak to him. It was under such conditions that Gladstone had Parliament pass the Land Act providing for fair rent, free sale, and fixity of tenure.

A number of land-purchase acts were passed by Parliament during the half century before the World War. Under some of these a tenant could purchase land on the installment plan whereby his annual payments were no more than his former rents. These rents are collected by the Irish government, but when De Valera¹ became president, he refused to remit them to Great Britain. Great Britain retaliated by imposing a high tariff against Irish products until 1938, when Ireland agreed to pay a lump sum.

¹ De Valera is pronounced dā vā lā'rā.

The Home Rule Movement. — After the Act of Union (1801) Ireland elected representatives to the Parliament at Westminster. But in 1870 a movement for the establishment of an Irish Parliament with control over domestic affairs was launched. It became known as the Home Rule Movement.

The Sinn Fein Independence Movement. — Sinn Fein (pronounced shĭn fān) means "ourselves alone." It was the name of a society organized to stimulate the revival of the Irish language and national spirit. Failure to obtain home rule by peaceful means and the distrust shown the Irish who volunteered for the World War enabled radical leaders to gain ascendancy in the Sinn Fein Society and to revive the independence movement of the Fenians. Ireland replied to the 1918 conscription bill for Ireland by an anti-conscription fund of nearly a million dollars.

At the December, 1918, election of members for Parliament, the Sinn Feiners secured the election of 73 members, the Nationalists (Home Rulers) 7, and the Unionist (Ulster Party) 21. The Sinn Feiners did not take their seats.

In 1919 a Sinn Fein Assembly met in Dublin and announced the complete independence of the Irish Republic. The Assembly included the Sinn Fein members of Parliament elected from Ireland.

Government of Ireland Act of 1920. — In 1920 the Home Rule Act of 1914 was repealed by the Government of Ireland Act. This Act created two parliaments, the Parliament of North Ireland for Ulster¹ and the Parliament of South Ireland for the rest of the country. North Ireland put this Act into effect in 1921, but South Ireland rejected the plan.

North Ireland. — The six counties and two boroughs of Ulster are governed in accordance with the 1920 Government of Ireland Act as amended by the Irish Free State Act of 1922. The Parliament, consisting of two elective houses, has general legislative powers with a few exceptions. The Governor is appointed

¹ Counties of Antrim, Armagh, Fermanagh, Down, Londonderry, and Tyrone, and boroughs of Belfast and Londonderry.

by the British Crown for six years and is advised by a Prime Minister and Cabinet responsible to the Parliament of Ulster. The people elect thirteen members to the Parliament at Westminster.

The Irish Free State. — South Ireland, having proclaimed the Sinn Fein Republic in 1919, rejected the Government of Ireland Act of 1920. In 1921 South Ireland and Great Britain signed a treaty providing for the Irish Free State, and the following year the British Parliament approved this agreement and Ireland adopted a constitution.

The Republicans. — The irreconcilable Irish who did not accept the 1922 agreement with Great Britain which established the Irish Free State were led by De Valera. They called themselves Republicans and advocated absolute independence of Great Britain.

In 1933 President De Valera persuaded the Parliament of Ireland to pass a bill abolishing the oath to



EAMON DE VALERA (central figure)
AT THE BEGINNING OF HIS CAREER

Mr. De Valera is the leader of the Republicans who obtained practical independence from Great Britain.

the King; and promised gradual elimination of forms which stood between the Free State and independence. In 1936 he pushed through bills that dropped all reference to the King and Governor-General in the constitution, and supplanted the dominion status of the Irish Free State by "external association" of that state with the British Commonwealth of Nations.

The Irish (Eire) Constitution of 1937. — In 1937 President De Valera had a new constitution approved by Parliament and

ratified by a vote of the people. It declares Ireland to be an independent state, and makes no direct reference to Great Britain. It is a long document, but the following summary gives the outstanding features :

Preamble. — The preamble shows the religious fervor of De Valera, who prepared the document. It begins : “In the name of the Most Holy Trinity”; and attributes the “independence of our nation, freedom of the individual, and social order” to Christ.

State. — The name of the state is Eire, the ancient name for Ireland. “Eire is a sovereign independent democratic State,” reads the constitution; but Great Britain still considers Eire a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations. The constitution claims “sovereignty over all Ireland,” but as North Ireland is unwilling to become part of Eire, these words are without meaning at present. Great Britain would not allow Eire to occupy North Ireland by force even should De Valera desire to do so.

Language. — The Irish language is declared to be the first official language and the English language second. “Provision may be made by law for the use of either.” Practically everybody in Ireland can speak English, and very few can speak the ancient Irish with ease.

President. — The President is elected by a direct vote of the people for a term of seven years. As his acts must be countersigned by the Ministers, he takes the place of the Governor-General, or is like the President of France, who neither reigns nor governs.

The President must sign bills passed by Parliament unless he refers them to the Supreme Court and the court declares them unconstitutional, or unless a majority of the Senate and a third of the House request him to refer the bill to the voters and they reject it. (In 1938 Professor Douglas Hyde, 78-year-old patriarch of the Gaelic revival movement, a scholar and a Protestant, was elected President.)

The Council of State consists of certain ex officio officers and others appointed by the President to serve during his term of

office. It is a sort of Privy Council for the President to consult regarding the few discretionary powers assigned him.

The Prime Minister is appointed by the President upon the nomination of the House of Representatives. He is the real head of government who governs with a Cabinet appointed by the President upon his recommendation. No money can be appropriated without the purpose being approved by him.

The Parliament consists of a House of Representatives (Dail Eireann) and a Senate (Seanad Eireann).

The House of Representatives consists of a number determined by Parliament. Members are elected by proportional representation for a term not to exceed seven years.

The Senate consists of 60 members :

11 named by the Prime Minister ;

3 elected by the National University as prescribed by law ;

3 elected by the University of Dublin as prescribed by law ;

43 chosen as prescribed by Parliament from panels of candidates representing :

1. National Language, Literature, Art, and Education ;

2. Agriculture and Fisheries ;

3. Labor, whether organized or unorganized ;

4. Industries and Commerce ;

5. Public Administration and Social Service.

The Senate has limited powers somewhat like the British House of Lords. It can delay money bills and make recommendations to the House of Representatives, and it may delay other non-emergency measures for 180 days.

Constitutional Amendment. — The Eire constitution may be amended by a majority vote of both houses of Parliament and the approval of a majority of people voting thereon.

Women have equal suffrage with men. Divorces are forbidden in conformity with Catholic doctrine.

Religion. — While the Catholic religion is recognized as the dominant religion, it is not tax supported. There are no disabilities or discriminations recognized by law because of religious

views. Discriminations between different denominations is not permitted in the distribution of state aid to schools.

British Relations. — Because De Valera ceased to turn over to the British government the land annuities, a tariff war raged between Great Britain and Ireland from 1932 to 1938, when Ireland agreed to pay the British government a compromise sum of 10,000,000 pounds, and natural trade relations were renewed. The same year Great Britain surrendered treaty rights to three Irish ports; and as Ireland did not enter World War II the British have been greatly handicapped by not having naval bases in Ireland.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. How does the distribution of powers between the central government and provinces of Canada differ from the distribution between the national government and states of our country?
2. How is the Governor-General of Canada chosen?
3. Are his powers more like those of a king or of a president?
4. How are the senators of Canada chosen?
5. How are members of the House of Commons chosen in Canada?
6. Compare the powers and relative influence of these two houses.
7. How is the Prime Minister chosen and what are his powers?
8. Explain how the provinces of Canada are governed.
9. Do the legislative assemblies of the Canadian provinces consist of one or two houses?
10. Explain the relationship between the French Canadians and the British Canadians.
11. Explain Canada's relationship to Great Britain.
12. Explain Canada's relationship to the United States.
13. Describe the governments of Australia, New Zealand, and the South African Union.
14. Why did the British enter Ireland?
15. Explain the British treatment of the Irish as to land and religion.
16. Explain the Home Rule Movement.
17. Explain the Independence Movement.
18. Describe the political situation in North Ireland.
19. Describe the Eire Constitution of 1937, as to name, language, president, prime minister, parliament, and religion.
20. What is the present relationship of Great Britain to Ireland?

PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION

1. The Canadian government pays a salary to the leader of the opposition party as such. Mexico does not. To what do you attribute this difference?

2. In Canada candidates for the House of Commons get their names on the ballot by filing a petition bearing the names of a few voters and the deposit of a sum of money. In the United States candidates are nominated for the House of Representatives by the direct primary or by conventions. Why do you prefer one or the other method?

3. In the Canadian provinces the unicameral legislature prevails, with two exceptions. In the United States the bicameral prevails except in Nebraska. Why do you prefer one or the other?

4. Canada, like England, has fewer murders than the United States. Do you think the fact that judges, prosecuting attorneys, and sheriffs are appointed in Canada contributes to this better record?

5. During the decade preceding the closing of all banks in the United States in March, 1933, more than 10,000 banks (with more than 5 per cent of the deposits) failed. During the same period not one bank failed in Canada. There a bank cannot be organized with less than \$500,000 capital. Because of the large amount of capital required there are only about 10 banks in Canada, but these 10 have about 4000 branches. Only the central government of Canada can charter banks, unlike the United States where each state can charter banks as well as the National Government. How do you like the Canadian system?

6. The English went into Ireland upon the invitation of one of two kings who were quarreling with each other. Continued quarrels among the Irish enabled the English to conquer all Ireland and to remain there nearly 800 years. What valuable lesson is taught from this incident?

7. Why do you think the population of Ireland dwindled to about one half during the nineteenth century while the population of most countries increased?

8. In Ireland the English language had become practically universal. But the Sinn Fein movement has revived interest in the old Irish language and now school teachers and other government employees are required to pass an examination in this old language; and the enthusiastic nationalists have changed the names of many of the streets, towns, and counties from English to Irish. They desire that the old Irish language should replace the English. If this could be accomplished, do you think it would be a benefit or a detriment to Ireland?

9. Is North Ireland, as an economic and political part of Great Britain, or Eire more likely to succeed?

10. In 1942 the United States sent an expeditionary force to North Ireland. Of what value was this to the United Nations? For invasion of Europe? For protection of England? To protect shipping lanes? Why would British troops there be resented?

11. Australia, about the size of the United States, has a population of only 7,000,000. Various immigration laws have excluded all non-white immigrants. How would you suggest increasing Australia's population? By assisting the immigration of Europeans, e.g., minority groups? General admission of Orientals? Removal of all whites by sale of all property to Orientals by government agency? Where could the whites go?

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CHAPTER XI

INDIA AND EGYPT

INDIA

East India Company.—The East India Company was granted a charter by Queen Elizabeth in 1600. This charter gave the merchants who composed the company the exclusive power of trade, administration, and settlement in the East. By the end of the eighteenth century this company had practically pushed out all European rivals from Hindustan. It had an army and waged war, collected taxes, and exercised political authority much as though it were itself a state.

The danger of leaving to a commercial company, whose principal object was to earn financial profits for its shareholders, the right to govern the people in the regions where their trading operations were carried on, became evident; and finally, in 1858,

the year following the great mutiny, the whole administration of India was transferred directly to the British Crown. On January 1, 1877, Queen Victoria assumed the title of Empress



STATUE OF QUEEN VICTORIA IN INDIA
This is a celebration of Empire Day in South India.

of India, and as a result of the proclamation then issued, King George VI is today the Emperor of India.

Secretary of State for India and His Council. — The government of India is divided into two parts, that which is in England and that which is in India. The India office in England consists of the Secretary of State for India together with a Council. He is the real Governor of India, and as he is a member of the British Cabinet his policy and acts must have the approval of the Prime Minister and Parliament. His Council, consisting of not more than twelve members, is appointed by himself, but at least one half of the members must have resided in India ten years and have left India not more than five years before their appointment. There are usually some Indian members on the Council. The Council is mainly a consultative body, and except for a few matters such as the expenditure of revenues raised in India, the Secretary of State may accept or reject the advice of the Council, provided he has consulted it. This makes him responsible for the Indian policy in accordance with the British system of responsible government.

Governor-General of India and His Council. — At the head of the government in India is the Governor-General, who is also called Viceroy because he is the representative of the Crown. He is nominally appointed by the King of England, but in reality by the Cabinet. His duty is to carry out the policies determined by the British government under the direction of the Secretary of State for India. This policy is found in the Government of India Act of 1935, which created a new Federal System of government for India.

The Governor-General appoints a Council of Ministers, not exceeding ten, from either Chamber of the Federal Legislature for an indefinite term. Whether the Council of Ministers will, like the British Cabinet, become responsible to the Federal Legislature, time will tell.

The Governor-General can veto any bill or reserve it for a decision in London. He has control of defense, external affairs, and ecclesiastical affairs; and may appoint not exceeding three counselors to assist him in these matters. He also has special

responsibility for peace, finances, minorities, discrimination against British subjects or British goods, pensions, and the protection of some 560 Indian native states with native rulers.

If the government cannot be carried on according to the Act of 1935, the Governor-General may by proclamation assume powers exercisable by any Federal body, except the Federal Court, for a period of six months.

The Federal Legislature consists of a House of Assembly (lower house) and a Council of State (upper house), which meet at Delhi.

The House of Assembly consists of not exceeding 375 members representing racial, religious, and economic groups. They are chosen for a term of five years (unless sooner dissolved), and by members of the provincial legislatures with minor exceptions.¹

The Council of State consists of not exceeding 260 members chosen by an electorate with property or tax qualifications, or indirectly through the provincial legislatures, or appointed by rulers of the Indian native states. The members from the provinces are chosen for a term of nine years, one third retiring every third year. The representatives from the native states

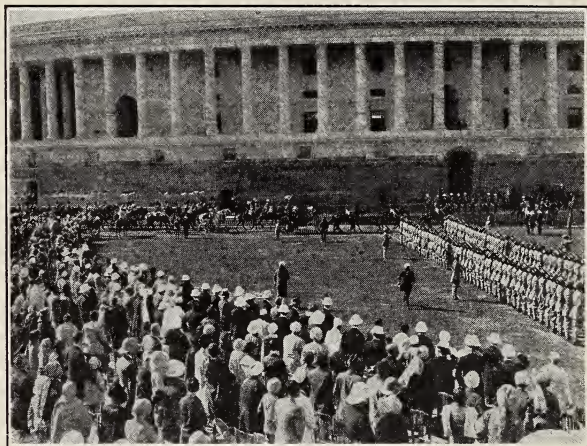
¹ Composition of the House of Assembly:

105 Hindus (including 19 of the depressed castes — “untouchables”)	} chosen by members of provincial legislative assemblies holding Hindu, Sikh, or Moslem seats, by proportional representation
82 Moslems	
6 Sikhs	
8 Indian Christians chosen by native Christians	} in provincial legislative assemblies
8 resident Europeans chosen by Europeans	
4 Anglo-Indians chosen by Anglo-Indians	
9 women (1 Christian, 2 Moslems) chosen by women	
10 representatives of labor	} chosen by electorates to be determined
7 landholders	
11 representatives of commerce and industry chosen by chambers of commerce	
<u>125</u> (at most) representatives of Indian native states appointed by rulers, or by rulers jointly for groups of states	

Total 375

serve short terms so as to rotate among the states combined in a constituency.¹

Provinces. — British India comprises about two thirds of the area of the country. It is divided into 11 provinces somewhat comparable to our states.²



THE OPENING OF THE COUNCIL HOUSE AT DELHI

The state procession is arriving at the Council House.

¹ Composition of the Council of State :

6 appointed by the Governor-General

140 representing the British provinces :

75 Hindus

49 Moslems

4 Sikhs

} chosen by members of their sects
with a limited suffrage

6 depressed castes chosen by members of depressed castes in provincial legislatures

6 women chosen by men and women in provincial legislatures

7 resident Europeans } each group chosen by an electoral college

1 Anglo-European

2 Indian Christians

} composed of group members of all provincial legislatures

104 (at most) chosen by rulers of native Indian states

Total 260

² These 11 provinces are known as "Governors' Provinces." There are also four "Chief Commissioners' Provinces" administered directly by the Governor-General acting through chief commissioners if he sees fit to appoint them.

The Governor for each province is appointed by the English Crown. Formerly his ministers were also created in England; but under the 1935 Act they are made responsible to the provincial legislature.

The provincial legislatures consist of two houses in six provinces and of one house in five provinces. Where there is one house, it will be popularly elected by a franchise not so restricted as in the Federal Legislature. The property qualifications give the vote to about 14 per cent of the population — including women — as contrasted with $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent previous to 1935. Where there are two houses the lower one will be popularly elected and the upper one will consist of members who are either elected on high property qualifications or by the lower house.

Native States. — Independent of the British provinces and scattered throughout India, there are 560 native states, varying in size from a few acres to 83,000 square miles. In each state there is the personal rule of the prince with control over legislation and the administration of justice except as modified by the India Act of 1935. Under this Act of Federation each prince or local king is to make his own treaty, in which he lays down the terms under which he enters the Federation. Therefore the Indian Federation will have one set of powers for the provinces but a different one for each of the native states. While the provinces will have parliamentary principles, varying degrees of Oriental absolutism will continue in the native states.

In these native states the British government may

- (1) extend British railways, telegraph lines, and postal service;
- (2) control their foreign and interstate relations;
- (3) assume jurisdiction over British subjects;
- (4) limit their military force; and
- (5) forbid them to employ Europeans without special consent.

The Army in India before World War II consisted of 55,000 British regulars and 140,000 native Indians, paid from the Indian Treasury. The presence of the British Army and its support at Indian expense, stirred up nationalist feeling; but when Japan threatened India some Indians complained that Britain had not provided sufficient defense. India contributes

nothing towards the British Navy and Air Force, but has a small navy of its own for coast defense.

As World War II approached, Great Britain began making contributions towards the Indian army, and now bears a great part of the cost.¹ The army is approaching 2,000,000 — com-



Courtesy of New York Times

BRITISH PROVINCES AND NATIVE STATES OF INDIA

posed principally of Indian volunteers who serve for \$5 a month in cash. War industries have expanded rapidly, so the army is supplied largely by home production.

The size of the United States expeditionary force in India is a military secret; but its air division is of outstanding

¹ During the last half century the Indian army has done service in Egypt, in the Sudan, in China, and elsewhere. While the army was actually in use, the Indian Treasury was partially relieved by Great Britain.

importance — especially in transporting supplies from India to China. Lend-Lease material goes to India and to China.

Education. — After 150 years of British rule in India there are no educational facilities whatever in more than half of the villages, and only 10 per cent of the population is able to read and write. However, higher education has been promoted and over two million of the people can speak the English language, which is used in the Legislature. This unifying factor makes future self-government more feasible.

Racial Discriminations by the Dominions. — Legislation or mob violence against the immigration of East Indians to the British Dominions causes them to chafe under this discriminative racial treatment. Australia excludes them under an arbitrary language test; British Columbia forbids the Indian laborers to land by mob intimidation; and in Natal, Kenya, and other parts of British South Africa the Indians are discriminated against in numerous ways.

Mahatma Gandhi's¹ Non-Co-operative Movement. — Until after the World War Gandhi was a supporter of Great Britain. He was educated in England and admitted to the British Bar. While practicing law in Bombay he raised an Indian Field-Ambulance Corps and led it to the front in the Boer War. He also supported Great Britain during the World War, but discriminative treatment of Indians in South Africa had led him to initiate a policy of passive resistance and mass marches as public demonstrations of protest.

Notwithstanding the loyal support which the Indians gave the British Empire during the World War, these racial discriminations continued. Furthermore, Gandhi was disappointed in the limited autonomy granted to India after the War, and he developed the non-co-operative movement. The disciples of this movement pledged not to take part as candidates or voters in the elections for the new central and provincial legislatures set up by the Act of 1919. No Indian was to use any article of British manufacture, and, as a sign of the covenant, none was to wear any but homespun clothes of native-

¹ Gandhi is pronounced gān'dē.

grown cotton. All Indians were to resign their offices under the government and give up their orders and titles. All Indians on the Bench and Bar were to withdraw from the law courts. All Indian parents were to take their children away from government and state-aided schools and colleges. Later there was to be an organized refusal to pay taxes. Non-co-operation, under the leadership of this Hindu mystic, attracted only a few of the western-educated and hardly any of the propertied classes.



INDIA'S FAMOUS AND REVERED LEADER

Mohandas K. Gandhi, still widely called "Mahatma," takes a morning walk by the sea.

But Gandhi acquired a personal hold on the masses, both in the congested slums of the modern city and in the stagnant backwaters in agricultural India.

In 1942 Gandhi, who had been in and out of prison for two decades because of civil disobedience, was again imprisoned because he led a mass movement to compel Great Britain to give India complete independence at once. The movement resulted in some bloodshed.

Self-Government Movement. — After India's aid in World War I the British gave India representation in the Imperial Conference, secured for her membership in the League of Nations, and in the 1919 and 1935 Government of India Act ex-

tended to the people of India more self-government and a promise of ultimate dominion status.

The Congress Party of nationalists want an independent federal union of all India. The Moslem League is seeking separate Hindu and Moslem governments.

Why the British Refuse Independence. — Great Britain promised to develop India for a dominion status of self-government within the Empire; but she defended her refusal to grant independence on the ground that the 389,000,000 people of India are not a nation, and that self-government would merely renew the bloody struggle which existed before the British entered India. Her reasons for this position are:

- (1) that the 560 independent native states would war for supremacy;
- (2) that the 45 different races could not merge for centuries;
- (3) that the 15 major languages and 200 dialects make unity difficult; and
- (4) that the 256,000,000 Hindus divided into numerous castes would not cooperate with the 88,000,000 aggressive Mohammedans and that without British policing civil war would result.

World War II. — When the War began the people of India were opposed to the aggression of Hitler and Japan, but were indifferent to action because the British had long promised them self-government but were slow in fulfillment. To gain Indian support the British offered through Sir Stafford Cripps full dominion status at the end of the War with the right of withdrawal from the British Commonwealth if desired. The Indian Nationalist leaders rejected the offer, demanding immediate independence. They claimed that they could not galvanize the country into action for national defense without independence; that the proposed policy of self-determination by the Native States and Moslem groups might prove destructive of Indian unity; and that the proposals for the war period were vague.

Although India is dissatisfied, the Indian Army has increased by voluntary enlistment from 140,000 to about 2,000,000.

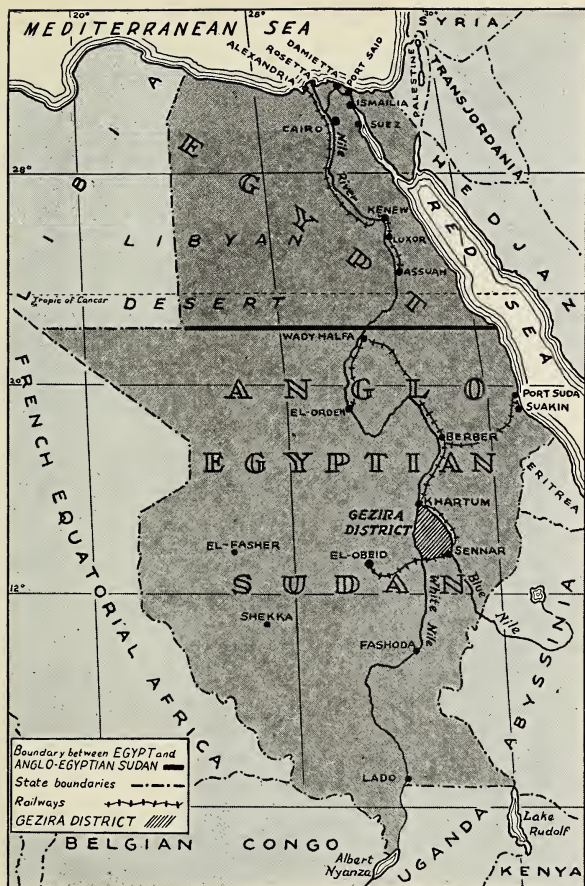
EGYPT

Before British Occupation. — Egypt has not been an independent country since the Persians conquered it five hundred years before the Christian era. During the nineteenth century Egypt was nominally tributary to Turkey. Ismail Pasha (1863–1879) extended Egyptian rule to the upper Nile, aided the building of the Suez Canal, and procured from the Sultan of Turkey the title “Khedive,” with more independent powers; but his extravagance plunged Egypt into bankruptcy. The sale of his shares of stock in the Suez Canal to the British government (1875) gave to it the controlling interest in that important waterway. To protect the financial interests of their subjects, Great Britain and France finally intervened to depose Ismail and place on the throne his son, the administration of finances being intrusted to two comptrollers-general of their own appointment.

British Occupation. — In 1882 a massacre of Europeans in Egypt brought the intervention of Great Britain. Gladstone viewed this occupation as temporary, but the British army has been there ever since. During this period the British have abolished forced labor, reduced the use of the whip, distributed Nile water to prince and peasant alike, established hospitals, provided for the humane treatment of lunatics, stabilized national finances, and promoted industry.

British Protectorate. — At the outbreak of the World War the Khedive of Egypt was in Turkey. Taking sides with the German allies, he did not return to Egypt. Thereupon in 1914 Great Britain proclaimed Egypt a British protectorate, and Hussein Kemal was placed upon the throne with the title of “Sultan” instead of “Khedive.”

During the World War beasts of burden were requisitioned in Egypt, and those that were lost were ultimately paid for according to the price at the time of requisition and not the cost of replacing them; the Red Cross drive in this Mohammedan country was unpolitic; thousands of students at El Azhar University resented the establishment of a protectorate under a Christian power; laborers were practically conscripted; the



Courtesy Current History

EGYPT AND THE ANGLO-EGYPTIAN SUDAN

British guidance in education had signally failed. The British control through advisers and an army that had been in Egypt since 1882 became so unpopular that government was possible only by martial law.

Nominal Independence. — In 1922 the Prime Minister of Great Britain declared the protectorate to be terminated. The former Sultan was made King and a ministry was appointed. England, however, has not conceded Sudan to be a part of Egypt and she has not withdrawn her troops from Egypt.

Constitution of 1923. — The new government drafted a constitution with such limitations as the British government insisted upon. It creates a responsible government with a lower house popularly elected and an upper house partly elected and partly appointed by the King. The government is a monarchy, the official language Arabic, and the official religion Mohammedanism.

The parliament has no right to interfere with budgetary provisions in respect to international engagements; and it is not to interfere with the obligations of Egypt toward other countries, the rights of foreigners legally acquired in Egypt, or recognized treaties or usages. As all the Great Powers possess extraordinary privileges conferred by treaty on their subjects resident in Egypt, the hands of Egypt are still badly tied. The following are outstanding examples of such restrictions:

First, no direct tax can be imposed on foreigners resident in Egypt without the consent of all these powers.

Second, all civil and commercial cases and all cases relating to land between foreigners and Egyptians, or between foreigners of the same or different nationalities, are tried by the mixed courts, which consist largely of foreign judges.

Third, all criminal charges against foreigners, with a few exceptions which come within the jurisdiction of the mixed tribunals, are tried in the consular court of the defendant's nationality.

Fourth, the Egyptian police cannot, without the consent of his consular authority, enter any foreigner's house, except in case of fire or of an unmistakable cry for help against violence.



Passed by British Censor
AMERICAN SOLDIERS VISITING THE SPHINX AND THE PYRAMIDS

Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936. — An Anglo-Egyptian treaty of alliance was signed in 1936 which limits British military occupation of Egypt to a garrison of 10,000 troops and 400 airplanes at the Suez Canal and accords the British the right to use Alexandria and Port Said as naval bases. The treaty further permits the British government to move troops over Egyptian territory in the event of war or threat of war.

King Farouk I (born in 1920) succeeded his father in 1936, married in 1938, and is father of a daughter. He was called the "boy king."

The Suez Canal. — In 1854 Ferdinand de Lesseps visited his friend Muhammed Said in Egypt,¹ and in twenty-one days he had secured the franchise for the Suez Canal.² De Lesseps was not an engineer, but he was a diplomat of great ability. After he had overcome British opposition and secured the approval of the Sultan of Turkey, the project was launched and 400,000 shares of stock were offered for sale in 1858. English and American investors refused to purchase; but French investors bought more than half of the shares, and the Egyptian government borrowed money and purchased the remaining 176,602 shares.

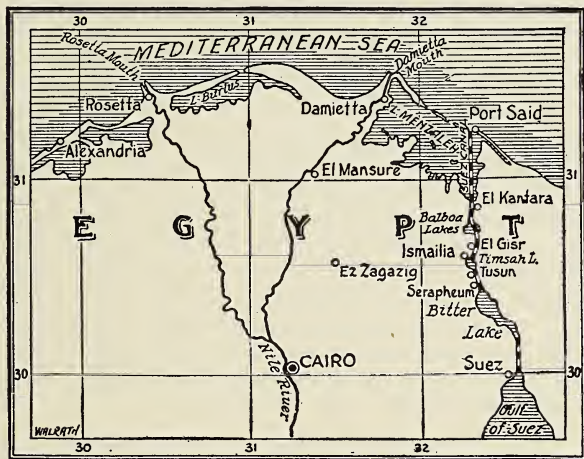
Ground was broken for the canal in 1859, and after much discouragement it was completed in 1869;³ and the waters of

¹ When Ferdinand de Lesseps' father was Consul-General at Cairo, Muhammed Said and the young de Lesseps were playmates. Later when Muhammed Said sojourned in France he was frequently entertained in the de Lesseps' home. So, when Ferdinand de Lesseps learned that his friend Muhammed Said had unexpectedly become the Viceroy of Egypt, he immediately acted upon his own initiative to secure a canal franchise from his boyhood friend. A letter was therefore at once dispatched to Cairo so artfully worded that the return mail brought a pressing invitation for an early visit. The invitation was promptly accepted, and the franchise was as promptly secured.

² Twice in ancient days the Red Sea was connected with the Nile by canal, but both of these waterways were closed by drifting sands.

³ Forced labor was promised for the canal by Muhammed Said, but he died in 1863 and Ismail, the new ruler, found forced labor so unpopular that he reduced the number from 50,000 to 6000. De Lesseps protested against this violation of the agreement. The dispute was arbitrated and a penalty was imposed upon Egypt of 84,000,000 francs — the damage suffered by the company as a result of the changed conditions.

the Red Sea were joined to those of the Mediterranean. Mohammed Said died during the construction of the canal, and Ismail Pasha, his successor, bestowed oriental lavishness upon the European royalty whom he had invited to witness this great event. Among other extravagances, a broad road, raised some twelve feet above the flood level, was built five miles across the cultivation to the Pyramids and a palace constructed at the



THE SUEZ CANAL

Courtesy of Current History

It connects the Mediterranean Sea at Port Said with the Gulf of Suez at Suez.

foot of them for a reception. Verdi was commissioned to compose the opera "Aïda" for the occasion. A special palace was also built for a ball in the town called "Ismailia" in honor of the ruler. Millions of dollars were spent by Ismail in these trivialities.

For years no interest could be paid on the canal stock, and by 1875 Ismail was unable to meet the interest charges on money borrowed to buy the canal stock and for the various extravagances. To stave off ruin he sold to the British government the 176,602 Egyptian shares of the canal stock for

\$18,000,000. Until World War II England received some \$7,000,000 a year in dividends. The 32 directors of the canal company, of whom 21 are French, received an emolument of \$17,000 each for assembling once a month to hear the report of enormous profits. These directorships were often given to successful French politicians who were ready to retire.

The majority of directors on the canal board are French and the business control has remained in French hands, but since 1882 the British have policed the canal. In 1856 the Viceroy of Egypt provided that the canal should be impartially opened to the vessels of all nations; and in 1888 the nations of Europe agreed that the canal should always be open in time of war as well as in time of peace, and that belligerent vessels may use the canal provided they leave as soon as possible. During war times belligerent powers may not embark or disembark in the canal or its ports any troops or war materials.

During both World Wars Great Britain violated this last provision, claiming to protect the Suez canal and Egypt. When Great Britain promised independence to Egypt in 1922, it reserved the right to maintain a garrison in the canal zone.

The Suez Canal franchise provides for a lease of 100 years, after which it reverts from the Suez Canal Company to the government of Egypt.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Explain how the Secretary of State for India and his Council govern.
2. Explain how the Governor-General of India and his Council govern.
3. Explain the composition of the Federal Legislature of India.
4. Explain how the provinces are governed.
5. Explain how the native states are governed.
6. What special powers has Great Britain in the native states?
7. Of whom is the army of India composed? How is it supported?
8. Describe education in India.
9. Outline the life of Mahatma Gandhi.
10. Why do the British refuse the independence of India?
11. Why did the British occupy Egypt?
12. Describe Egypt under the Constitution of 1923.

13. Explain how de Lesseps obtained a franchise to dig the Suez Canal.
14. Describe the financing of the Suez Canal.
15. Describe the present government of the Canal.

PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION

1. "India, if she wills, can be free in the same way and by the same means as Canada, Australia, and New Zealand are today free sovereign states. In all these states their peoples, through their representatives, came together, worked out a constitution for themselves and asked Britain to ratify the result, and in no case in vain. In Canada, French-Canadians and British-Canadians, and in South Africa, Dutch and English, after a century of struggle came together and made those grand compromises which are always the expression of the highest political wisdom. The same course is open to India if the peoples of India will agree about the terms of a free constitution." — General Smuts, Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa. Is he right? Explain.

2. If the British should suddenly withdraw from India, do you think the trade between the United States and India would gradually increase or decrease? Do you think missionary opportunities for American churches would be widened or narrowed?

3. What would probably happen to the native states of India if Great Britain should give the provinces independence?

4. Race prejudice exists in the United States more extensively than elsewhere except perhaps Germany and the British Dominions. From facts related in this chapter, explain how the absence of race prejudice has brought profit to Frenchmen in Egypt and how race prejudice has brought difficulties to the British in the government of India.

5. Do you see any connection between the caste system in India and race prejudice in the United States?

6. The Suez Canal did not cost as much as the Panama Canal, the traffic through the two in times of peace is about the same, and the rates are about the same. Therefore the dividends are greater for the Suez Canal. What difference in the right of way justifies a larger dividend for the Suez Canal?

7. Why does Mussolini want lower tolls for the Suez Canal, and also participation in its control?

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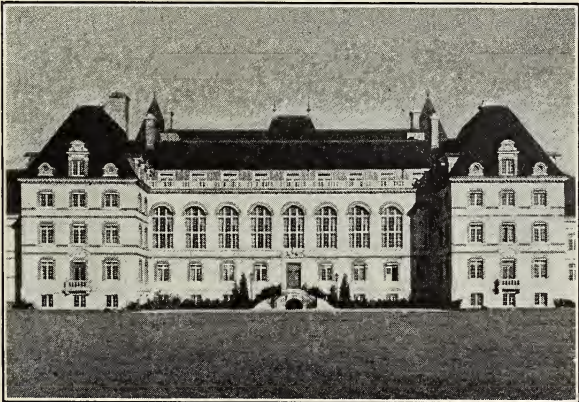
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CHAPTER XII

FRANCE

The Old Régime. — Before 1789 France was a despotism. The King made the laws and the ordinances and enforced them on his own authority. Louis XIV once said, "I am the State"; and he was at least the authority of the state. There was no



THE "UNIVERSITY CITY" OF PARIS

Black Star

International House was donated by John D. Rockefeller to the University of Paris. It is one of many such houses built by him. Others are at the universities at New York, Berkeley, and Chicago.

freedom of worship, of speech, or of petition. There was no writ of habeas corpus, no system of trial by jury. In fact, there were none of the modern safeguards for the freedom of the common man; hence, there was no liberty.

Only the rich could aspire to the higher government positions. The nobility paid only nominal sums in taxation. The privilege

of collecting taxes was farmed out to profiteers who bid high sums for it and then recouped themselves by oppressive tax rates. Commodities going from a seaport to Paris sometimes were taxed as many as ten times. These intolerable conditions resulted in the Revolution of 1789.

The Revolution of 1789. — On July 14, 1789, mobs stormed the Bastille and released its prisoners. Later the King, Louis XVI, and the Queen were sent to the guillotine. The institution of nobility was abolished and all special privileges and annuities were declared at an end. In succession came the constitutions of 1789, 1791, 1793, and 1795.

Napoleon Bonaparte, who did not believe in popular institutions, came forward; and by a new constitution in 1800 the powers of the legislative body were reduced and those of the executive greatly increased. In 1803 Napoleon had himself rated Emperor, and dictated the imperialistic policy of France until his overthrow at Waterloo in 1815. His military crusades "salted the deserts and steppes with the bones of Frenchmen," but achieved little of lasting value. Yet as an organizer and lawgiver, Napoleon was a true statesman.

From 1815 to 1871. — From 1815 until 1830 the Bourbon kings, Louis XVIII and Charles X, reigned. The arbitrary acts of Charles X resulted in the "July Revolution of 1830." He was succeeded by Louis Philippe of the House of Orleans. Under his inefficient reign the country sank to a second-rate power, and in 1848 a revolution forced the King to relinquish his throne. In this year the Second Republic was established with a new simple constitution. Louis Napoleon, a nephew of the great Corsican, returned from exile in England and was elected president. In 1851 he proclaimed his presidential term to be extended to ten years, and in 1852 the people voted for the Second Empire with him as Emperor Napoleon III. The Second Empire lasted from 1852 to 1870. The people were content because it was an era of unprecedented business prosperity. In 1870 the Emperor brought on war with Prussia, was overwhelmingly defeated at Sedan, and was forced to surrender.

On September 4, 1870, republican leaders set up a provisional government to replace the collapsed empire. A large assembly was elected for an indefinite term and without limit of powers. It convened at Bordeaux in February, 1871. It made peace with the Germans by ceding Alsace-Lorraine and agreeing to pay five billion gold francs.

The Third Republic Created. — Between 1871 and 1875 this Assembly governed France and endeavored to organize a new government. The majority in this Assembly favored a monarchy, but when the supporters of the three aspiring dynasties finally agreed upon a monarch, the Bourbon aspirant would not accept the tri-color flag and thereby lost the throne. Finally, in 1875 this Assembly created a republic and enacted three statutes which became the constitution of France.



NAPOLEON'S STATUE AT ST. CYR
MILITARY ACADEMY

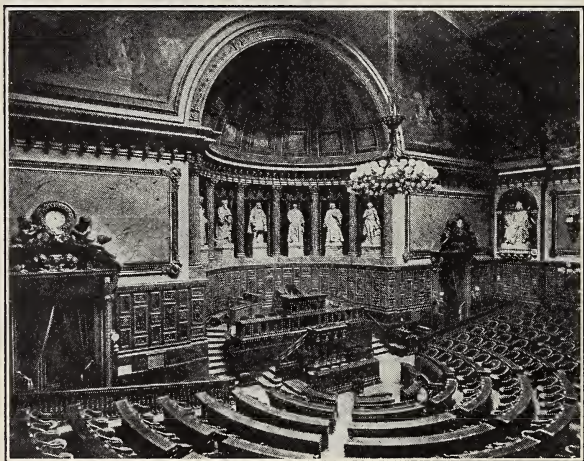
Constitutional Amendment. — The majority of the Assembly which framed this Constitution of 1875 hoped to change the republic into a monarchy at some future time; therefore, they provided an easy method of amending the constitution. It could be amended by a majority vote of the Senate and Chamber of Deputies in joint session.

Government Organization before the 1940 Invasion. — *Parliamentary Form.* — France from the founding of the Third Republic until the German invasion had a parliamentary form of government similar to the British.

The President of France was elected by the two houses of

Parliament sitting in joint session, and held office for seven years. His powers, like those of the British King, were limited, and every official act had to have the signature of a Minister. The King of England reigns, the President of the United States governs, but the President of France neither reigned nor governed.

The Premier and Cabinet. — The President of France selected a Premier who was able to form a cabinet that could secure the



THE SENATE CHAMBER, PARIS

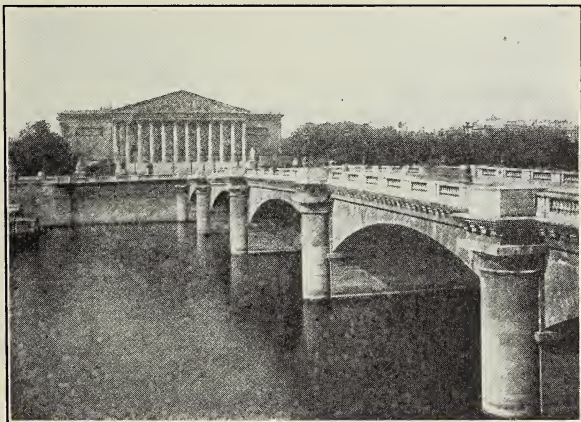
The Senate Chamber is the Palais du Luxembourg, located in Luxembourg Gardens. This is a separate building from the one occupied by the Deputies.

support of the majority of Parliament. France, before the invasion, had numerous political parties, no one of which controlled a majority of votes in the Parliament. For this reason it was necessary to form a cabinet (ministry) from several political parties combined into a bloc — what the English would term a “coalition cabinet.” The President was able to use some discretion in determining which leader he would summon to form a new cabinet; but frequently it was difficult to form a

cabinet that would have enough support to meet the approval of Parliament.

The Government was very unstable, and from the creation of the Third Republic until the reorganization in 1940 the average length of a Ministry was less than one year.

The Senate was composed of 314 members elected by an electoral college made up of representatives from subordinate political units. Elected for a term of nine years, the members



CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES, PARIS

of the Senate represented a high standard of quality. It acted mainly as a conservative balance wheel in legislation.

The Chamber of Deputies consisted of a representative from each of the 612 electoral districts, who served for four years, and was elected by universal manhood suffrage. (France has never had woman suffrage.) The Chamber of Deputies, like the United States House of Representatives, originated all financial measures. As the purveyor of political patronage, the Deputy led a busy life in addition to his legislative duties.

The Judiciary. — Before the French Revolution the legal decentralization in France was so great that the traveler who

crossed the country changed laws as often as he changed horses; but the Code Napoleon, which unified the laws of France, is of such value that many nations of the world, including Germany and Japan, have drawn heavily upon it.

All French judges in the past have been especially trained for their judgeships. They are appointed by the Chief of State upon the recommendation of the Minister of Justice, and hold office for life or good behavior (which now means loyalty to the



THE PALACE OF JUSTICE AND THE BRIDGE OF CHANGE ACROSS
THE SEINE

Vichy government). The main business of French justices of the peace is to prevent lawsuits and not to try them.

All courts above the justices of the peace are conducted by more than one judge. This practice is considered desirable because French courts do not have juries in civil cases. They have been reserved for the trial of serious crimes only. And when a jury is used it decides cases by a majority vote, which prevents a hung jury. In selecting the jury a panel of thirty-six persons is drawn from an urn, and the prosecution and the defense may challenge any juror with or without cause, until there are no more names in the urn than there are jurors to be selected. Thereupon no further challenges are permitted.

The highest court of France consists of a great number of

judges who sit in divisions. This is more feasible in France than it would be in the Supreme Court of the United States because the French courts do not declare statutes unconstitutional; but the American courts do, and it is especially important that these decisions be kept uniform by a single unit at the apex of our system.

The French courts have less formality and less technicality than the courts of the United States. For instance, a witness is allowed to relate his full story before he is disturbed by the attorneys.

The French court system, which has been highly centralized, was readily adapted to the new strong central government and has apparently remained practically intact.

Local Government. — France has been a unitary state as distinguished from a federal state like the United States of America. There has been no division of powers between the nation and its component parts. All authority emanated from the central government. The President appointed 89 prefects — one for each of the departments into which the country was divided for administrative purposes. Each prefect appointed a subprefect for each of the districts, called *arrondissements*, into which the departments are divided. There were 276 *arrondissements* in all. The *arrondissements* were subdivided into *communes*, like our New England townships — every part of France being in one of the 37,000 *communes*. The prefect of each department was appointed on the basis of tact and ability to carry out the policy of the central government. His residence and office was known as the *prefecture* in each capital town.

As agent of the central government, he held broad ordinance power and enforced the national laws. He had charge of the various public services and the appointment of local officials, including schoolteachers. The prefect also supervised the *communes*. He approved their budgets and could even suspend the mayor or municipal council for cause. The subprefect acted as the prefect's assistant and politically corresponded to the American ward boss.

Both the departments and *arrondissements* have councils,

which before the reorganization were elected, but now are appointed. Both councils had only nominal advisory and legislative powers similar to the American county board of supervisors.

The French commune corresponds to the American town or city — more accurately to the New England town or township — because it includes not only the thickly settled portion that would be incorporated in America, but the surrounding country as well. The council which is appointed by the prefect, or the Minister of Interior in larger cities, elects the mayor and one or more assistant mayors. The communes of France are all governed in accordance with one short code enacted by the Parliament of France, whereas in America most of our towns and cities operate under separate charters.

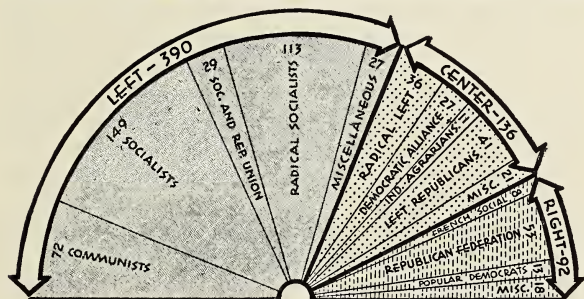
The central laws of France are general in character, and the prefect and mayor both have wide ordinance powers, but this power is supervised by the Minister of the Interior, who is directly responsible to the Chief of State. (This close and direct administration of local government has made it possible to have only a minimum disruption in local government to meet the new reorganization plan of strong central powers. Occupied France is governed by military leaders from Germany with such local officers as they selected to carry on the local government.)

Political Parties before the Invasion. — France had a dozen or more political parties; therefore there was no one party strong enough to govern France. A French government was always a coalition government composed of a group of parties that temporarily agreed to support a Premier. For instance, when Marshal Petain replaced Paul Reynaud as Premier in 1940, he formed the 107th cabinet in the 69 years of the Third Republic.

Popular Front (*Front Populaire*). — Formed in 1935 to combat Fascism, the Popular Front coalition of political parties governed continuously from 1936 to 1938. It consisted of Communists, Socialists, Radical Socialists who are really moderates, and minor groups. Most of the time Léon Blum, a Socialist, led the coalition. The Popular Front increased wages and reduced the work-week for factory laborers to forty hours in

five days, provided an annual vacation of two weeks with pay, extended the school age of compulsory education from the 13th to the 14th year, shifted control of the Bank of France from "the 200 families" to the government, nationalized the manufacture of arms, and launched a system of public works.

One of the primary aims of the Popular Front was to combat



Courtesy of New York Times

"POPULAR FRONT" COALITION UNDER PREMIER BLUM — 1936-1938
In 1938 this "Popular Front" government was replaced by a more conservative government under Edouard Daladier.

the various Fascist and semi-Fascist organizations in France, and the Léon Blum government dissolved the Cross of Fire (Croix de Feu) and other semi-Fascist groups.

Sit-down strikes were used as a means of forcing the social legislation listed above, and a parade of the Popular Front, with its red flags, had the appearance of a Communist parade in Moscow. The Germans say that while Germany was trying to work and starve herself into greatness, France, under the Premiership of Léon Blum, was trying to loaf herself into a happy life.

On April 8, 1938, the conservative Senate overthrew Premier Blum's Popular Front and the President appointed the Radical-Socialist, Edouard Daladier, to form a cabinet. The Communists were not represented in his cabinet. It was a more conservative center coalition, called the National Union Cabinet.

Government Conflict with Labor Unions. — In the autumn of

1938 France lost prestige when it failed to stand by its ally, Czechoslovakia. Italy was menacing its colonies. Its government deficit continued. Germany and Italy were piling up armaments, while even the French government employees were planning a strike.

Premier Daladier had been given temporary authority to govern without Parliament, so among other things he ordered the abolition of the 40-hour week in munition plants and certain other industries, increased taxation, and reduced pensions to war veterans. As a sign of protest, the General Confederation of Labor, representing 5,000,000 French workers, called a general 24-hour strike. The projected strike thus became a test between French labor and the Daladier government. The Premier ordered the government workers for the railroads, subways, buses, gas, water, light, mail, telegraph, and telephone services to remain at their posts. Had they refused, they would have been guilty of committing a crime against the state and subject to the penalties of treason. Most government workers remained at their posts, and the government won. Had the government employees stopped work, the Premier could have drafted them for the army and assigned them to their regular jobs.

Temporary Dictatorship and Final Defeat. — In March, 1939, following Germany's occupation of Czechoslovakia, the Premier was granted unprecedented dictatorial powers. After the Nazi armies had marched in crushing victory through The Netherlands and Belgium in May, 1940, France was successfully invaded in spite of the Maginot Line and capitulated to Germany June 17, 1940. A death blow to France had been struck when Italy entered the war against France on June 10.

Why France Fell, According to General Henri Honoré Giraud. — "What are the causes of this unfortunate crash? First, that of birthrate. France was on the slope of suicide. The family was disappearing to give place to couples without children. In the world's richest country where the soil gives to everybody who wants to work it, the countryside was depopulating itself.

"In a race formerly stolid, rustic, tough against fatigue, but

where alcohol and disease had opened suppurating wounds, the skeleton shrank, the tissues became lax, the resistance disappeared. Neither from the point of view of endurance nor of training was the soldier of 1940 equal to that of 1914.

"From the first to the last rank of society, people wanted to amuse themselves, or rather to drug themselves. The employer had a hundred pretexts, a thousand occasions. In summer it was the seaside; in autumn, hunting, then winter sports. The employe looked on and drew his conclusions.

"The schools taught egoism, personal interest, and the cult of envy. After that, negation of everything spiritual, of everything divine, of everything ideal. Atheism, if not proclaimed, was at least encouraged.

"From 1918 to 1940 France luxuriated in every kind of regime that might be called republican — from horizon blue to the red Popular Front. Ministries fell like houses of cards, scandals accumulated, riots caused the spilling of French blood, even on the paving stones of the capital; and the Popular Front taught the people laziness under the grandiose name of 'leisure.'

"The king of all was the corner café. The 40-hour week did not bring in anything more to the mother of the family because the breadwinner spent in two days twice as much as in one. The only result was that alcohol merchants did well.

"To preach under-production at a time when Germany shouted that it was better to have cannon than butter was not only treason against the nation, but a crime against honesty. Shortage of equipment, unfilled orders, airplanes that never materialized, obsolete tanks, munitions that never arrived — all these were the result of work poor in quantity and quality."

The Pétain or Vichy Government Organized. — On June 14, 1940, Paris was occupied by German troops, and on June 16 Marshal Philippe Pétain, an aged statesman and military leader who had been a hero of World War I, became Premier. On the same day the cabinet voted to request an armistice. The armistice with Germany was signed on June 22 and with Italy just two days later. The seat of the government was moved from Paris to Tours, to Bordeaux, and finally, to Vichy.

The French Parliament assembled in Vichy on July 9, 1940, and on the following day established an authoritarian government with Marshal Pétain as head. The new government was requested to prepare a new constitution which, when ready, was to be submitted to the people by referendum. Parts of this new constitution have been issued from time to time, becoming effective at once. Pierre Laval, in leading the discussion in the Chamber of Deputies on the necessity for a new constitution, said that French Democracy had engaged in "combat against Naziism and Fascism and had lost the struggle; it ought to disappear. A new, audacious, authoritarian, social, national regime ought to be substituted for it." He added, "I have said and I repeat it: a regime which has brought war and defeat is not qualified to make peace."

Even Spinasse, a Socialist not closely connected with the government, voiced the belief of the Left that strong government was called for in order "to avoid having the country founder in violence and anarchy. Our duty is to permit the government to make a bloodless revolution. We must also break with the past without hope of return."

The law as passed concentrated the power of government in the hands of Pétain and his Ministry. The following day Pétain issued a decree adjourning the Senate and Chamber of Deputies, who were to remain indefinitely in office, but stating that they could only be reconvened by the Chief of State. He also abrogated the part of the French Constitution of 1875 which set up the office of President of France, thereby assuming both the offices of Premier and President.

Powers of the Chief of State. — A legislative act of July 11, 1940, defines the powers of the Chief of State as follows:

Article 1. (1) The Chief of the French State has complete governmental power; he names ministers and secretaries of state, who are responsible only to him.

(2) He exercises legislative power, in consultation with his ministers [1] until the formation of the new assemblies; [2] also after this formation, in case of external tension or of a grave internal crisis, he exercises legislative power on his sole decision.

In the same circumstances, he can decree all budgetary and fiscal orders.

(3) He promulgates the laws and assures their execution.

(4) He appoints to all civil and military positions for which by law no other mode of designation has been made.

(5) He disposes of the armed forces.

(6) He possesses the power to pardon and grant amnesty.

(7) Envoys and ambassadors of foreign countries are accredited to him. He negotiates and ratifies treaties.

(8) He can declare a state of siege in one or more portions of the territory.

(9) He can declare war without the previous assent of the legislative assemblies.

All provisions of the Constitution of 1875 incompatible with these powers were abrogated.

The Vichy Cabinet. — Immediately after the German invasion and the armistice, members of the former government who were pro-British and were accused of mismanagement of the army and government in general were arrested. Marshal Pétain reorganized his government by selecting members who would co-operate with the German and Italian military authorities who had stipulated the terms of the armistice. With the northern half of France actually occupied by German forces, and the city of Paris to remain in German hands, it was considered necessary to accede to the greater force of the Nazis. Pierre Laval, who is credited with having been pro-Nazi even before the invasion, was selected as Vice-President and immediate successor in case Pétain was unable to carry on the duties of Chief of State. He was later dropped and Admiral Darlan assumed the office of Vice-President. In 1942 Laval was again taken into the Vichy¹ Government and was made acting head with the aging Pétain² retaining only titular power. Laval³ has declared himself as wanting a Nazi victory.

The armistice signed in 1940 by Hitler and Pétain allowed

¹ Vichy is pronounced vē'shē'.

² Pétain is pronounced pă'tāN'.

³ Laval is pronounced lá'vāl'.

the Germans to occupy northwestern France, which contained the mines, industries, and important naval bases. The Germans governed it through Paris.

The Pétain Government at Vichy tried to steer between the demands of Hitler and those of the United Nations, but when northern Africa joined the United Nations in 1942, all France was occupied by the Germans, under Field Marshal von Rundstedt.

Free French under de Gaulle.¹ — When the Germans overran France in 1940 many Frenchmen who had escaped through Dunkirk to England, and part of the French navy which had been cooperating with the British navy, did not return to France but joined the British forces. General Charles de Gaulle, who had been Under Secretary of State in the French Government before the invasion, took up the leadership of these Frenchmen, established a Free French Government in London, and with the British continued the struggle against the Axis. About 50,000 Frenchmen who escaped from France, many through fishing smacks from the coast of Brittany, 25,000 native soldiers in Africa, and over a hundred naval vessels, including submarines, minesweepers, and other small vessels, joined together and formed the Free French Movement.

General de Gaulle called his governing body the Council of Defense of the French Empire. This is considered a temporary body and hopes in time to turn over its power to a newly constituted French Government at the end of the war.

In Africa the Chad, the Cameroons, and French Equatorial Africa became a part of Free France. The Free French aided the British in the seizure of Syria; and when the British occupied Madagascar it was turned over to the Free French.

North African French Join the United Nations. — In late 1942 Admiral Darlan was in charge of the French forces in Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, and West Africa. It is said that when he was secretly asked what he would do should the United States send an expeditionary force to North Africa, he replied: "Fire on you if you come with one division; embrace you if you come with twenty."

¹ de Gaulle is pronounced də' gôl'.

On the night of November 7, 1942, the largest amphibious armada in history began landing on the shores of Algeria, Morocco, and West Africa. It was composed of more than 500 troop and supply ships and more than 350 warships. Under the command of General Eisenhower of the United States army it was divided into two convoys — one having been assembled in England and the other from several American ports.

The French showed some resistance, but in 76 hours after the first landings, Admiral Darlan, Commander in Chief of all the Vichy-French forces of Africa, was being “entertained by American officers in Algiers” and ordered all French opposition in Africa to cease. On Christmas Eve Admiral Darlan was assassinated by one of his former colleagues.

General Henri Honoré Giraud,¹ who had made a marvelous escape from a German military prison disguised in women’s clothes, entered an English submarine off the southern coast of France and landed in Africa November 8 to assist the United Nations. When Admiral Darlan was assassinated, General Giraud succeeded him in command of the French African forces. He had been associated with the more conservative element of France while de Gaulle had the backing of the more radical element. Therefore it was not easy for Giraud and de Gaulle to cooperate. However, when President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill conferred at Casablanca, the two French officers held a conference and agreed to work for the restoration of an independent France. They agreed that “this end will be attained by union in war of all free Frenchmen fighting side by side with all allies.” Both disclaimed the desire to govern France when peace is restored; so they did not have to agree upon the nature of the government of a restored France.

German Occupation of All France. — In November, 1942, when the British-American expedition occupied northern Africa, the German army overran all of France and attempted to capture the French fleet at Toulon; but the French destroyed most of the fleet to prevent its falling into the hands of the Germans.

¹ Giraud is pronounced zhě’ rō’.

Pétain became even more of a figurehead, and Laval became an out-and-out puppet ruler of the civil government of the newly occupied portion of France. Laval unsuccessfully attempted to deliver the fleet to Germany, and also tried to draft French mechanics to work in German factories.

While Laval and some conservatives of France wanted France to become part of a German-dominated Europe, the majority of liberals and socialists and communists long for a restored Republic of France. When the United Nations occupy France an overwhelming majority of the people are expected to take up arms and help annihilate the German army, just as the French army in northern Africa did when the British-American expedition came to its aid.

German Domination in France. — At the time of the German-French armistice Alsace and Lorraine, rich industrial areas over which France and Germany have disputed for centuries, were made a part of "Greater Germany," and the northern half of the nation with a strip running to the Spanish border along the coast remained in the hands of the Germans. An indemnity, which was supposed to be the cost of German occupation, was placed upon France to the extent of 400,000,000 francs a day, or about the value of \$10,000,000. Only about 125,000,000 francs daily were spent by Germany for actual costs. The remainder, which was mostly paper credits, was being used by Germany to purchase interests in French industry, or was accredited to Germany through the Bank of France.

When the Germans occupied all of France the indemnity is reported to have been increased to 500,000,000 francs a day, leaving a bankrupt treasury for the French people.

Large purchases of French goods, foods, and raw materials have been enforced at German-dictated prices in both occupied and unoccupied France. This mulcting of the French was decried by even the Vichy administration, which was powerless to resist the German demands. Industry is still shut down or on a limited war-time basis, and several million French workers are unemployed.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Describe the Old Regime in France, and the Revolution of 1789.
2. Explain how the Third Republic was created.
3. Describe the French judiciary.
4. Describe the system of local government in France.
5. Explain the effect of the great number of political parties on the French government.
6. What was the Popular Front in France?
7. Explain the government's conflict with labor unions.
8. What was the origin of the Free French Movement? Who was its leader?

PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Do you find any features of the French judicial system that you think we should adopt in the United States?
2. France had a unitary government with control over the local governments centered in Paris. Explain how this differs from the system of local governments in the United States.
3. What were the reasons for the fall of France according to General Giraud? Are any of these causes producing weakness in our own country?
4. The Germans manipulated the French indemnities so as to get property in France into the possession of Germans. When France is again independent should the French Government recognize these shifts in title brought about through the indemnities?
5. General Giraud is associated with the conservatives of France. General de Gaulle has received more support from the liberals or radicals. Which would you rather have at the head of the movement for the restoration of the independence of France?

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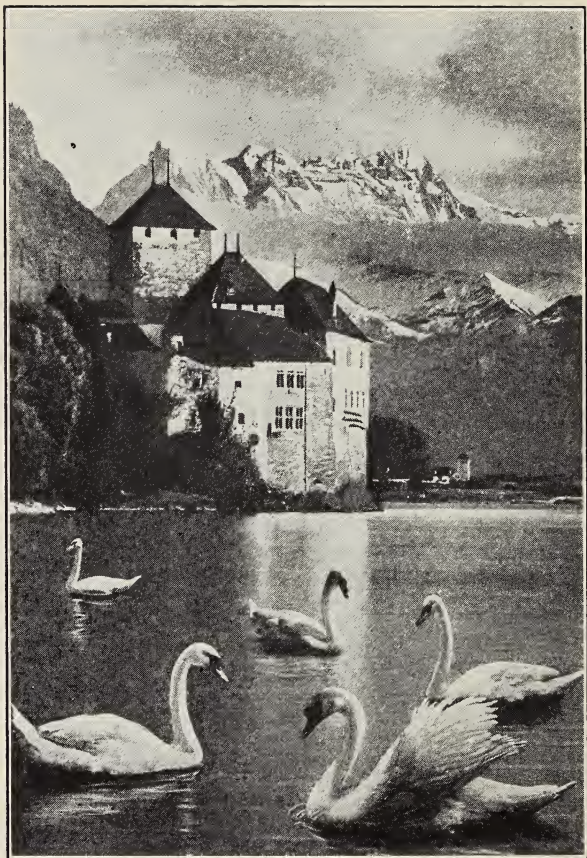
CHAPTER XIII

SWITZERLAND

Introduction. — This Helvetic Republic, whose importance is greater than its size, has an area of only 16,000 square miles and a population of only four millions. The Swiss people are a mixture of races and about two thirds of them speak the German language, one fifth speak French, and a smaller number living in several of the southern cantons speak Italian. About 57 per cent of the population is Protestant and 43 per cent Roman Catholic. In spite of diversity in race, language, and religion, the Swiss people are politically and patriotically united.

The Swiss Confederacy. — In 58 B.C., when Julius Caesar began the conquest of the Helvetians, the latter were almost constantly engaged in warfare among themselves and in raiding expeditions against their neighbors. For several centuries the Roman language, religion, and civilization were imposed upon these tribes. Along the well-made Roman highways trade flowed freely under the protection of the *Pax Romana*. But Roman soldiery domineered the native peoples, Roman vices sapped their vitality, and the crafty Roman policy of pitting one local group against another made them unable to resist the barbarian German migration which began late in the third century.

Until the end of the thirteenth century Switzerland was a minor pawn in the game of conquest, waged first by the Romans, then by the Germans and the Franks, and finally by the Holy Roman Emperors. In the disorder, war, misery, and oppression of these centuries, one bright spot was due to the coming, early in the seventh century, of a party of Irish monks whose fiery preaching spread the gospel over the entire country, and led to the foundation of many churches.



CASTLE OF CHILLON ON LAKE GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

On August 1, 1291, the three cantons around Lake Lucerne formed the Perpetual League — a defensive alliance to protect themselves against the oppressive Hapsburgs of Austria; and during the next five centuries the confederation grew to embrace thirteen cantons, but there was much discord among them. In 1798 the French occupied the country and created the Helvetic Republic. In 1803 Napoleon recognized the dissatisfaction of the Swiss and extended to them a considerable degree of self-government. After the Treaty of Vienna (1815), the cantons existed as a confederation until 1848, when the present Swiss Federation was formed.

The Federal Republic is composed of 19 whole cantons and 6 half cantons. The relationship of these cantons to the Swiss central government is similar to that of the American states to the Federal Government of the United States. The Swiss federal government has only such powers as have been granted to it, while the cantons retain all the rest. The cantons have their own constitutions, subject to three restrictions: each cantonal constitution must provide for a republican form of government, must be subject to revision or amendment by popular vote, and must not contain anything contrary to the federal constitution.

The powers of the federal government are much greater than those of the Federal Government of the United States. There is an excellent civil as well as criminal code enacted by the federal government. The government operates the railroad, telegraph, and telephone services; it controls all available water power, and has a monopoly on explosives, alcohol, and tobacco. However, in most cases Swiss laws are enforced by officials of the cantons, with federal officers inspecting and supervising.

The National Assembly consists of two chambers — the Council of States and the National Council. The Council of States contains two members from each canton chosen in such manner and for such terms as each canton may decide.

The National Council is composed of about two hundred members elected by manhood suffrage from the twenty-two

cantons under a system of proportional representation. In Switzerland there are three official languages and members of the Council may speak in German, French, or Italian.

By a joint session of the two houses¹ the higher officials of the confederation are elected, such as members of the Federal



MONUMENT AT BERNE TO THE WORLD POSTAL UNION

That we can send a letter from America to Hungary without a stop at every border is due to the co-operation of every nation in the establishment of an effective world Postal Union. Here is the best example of internationalism that we have today.

Council (Ministry), the President of the Federal Council, the federal judges, and the commander-in-chief of the army. They also sit in joint session twice a year to grant pardons.

The Federal Council. — Unlike other countries, Switzerland has a plural executive, known as the Federal Council. This Council is composed of seven members elected by the two legislative chambers sitting together. The term of office is three

¹ When the two houses of the National Assembly are sitting in joint session they are known as the Federal Assembly.

years, and members are usually re-elected. Annually the Chambers also elect one member of this Council as chairman. As such, he enjoys the title of Federal President. He is merely first among equals, but represents the country on ceremonial occasions. In the same manner a vice-president is elected, and the following year he is usually elected to the Presidency.

This Federal Council is a sort of ministry. It conducts foreign affairs, controls the army, appoints most of the federal officers, makes the federal budget, and prepares other bills¹ to present to the National Assembly, either upon its own initiative or upon the request of the Assembly. But if a bill prepared upon its own initiative is rejected by the Assembly the Federal Council does not resign as a ministry does. The councilors are questioned on the floors of the Chambers, but debate seldom follows, and a vote of confidence is never taken.

Initiative and Referendum. — Switzerland is pre-eminently the home of the initiative and referendum, which are sometimes referred to as constituting a "third house." Amendments to the Swiss constitution may be proposed by the National Assembly or by a petition of 50,000 voters. Then they must be referred to the people and ratified by the majority of citizens voting thereon and also by a majority of cantons. There is no federal initiative for statutes — only for constitutional amendments. The federal constitution also requires that the constitutions of the cantons be referred to the voters.

The federation has an optional referendum for statutes. Thirty thousand voters or eight cantons may demand a referendum on any statute passed by the National Assembly, and the measure is lost if at the election a majority vote is in the negative.

Political Parties. — Switzerland has four political parties — Catholic Conservatives or Clericals, Liberal Democratic or Agrarians, Independent Democratic or Anti-Clericals, and Social Democratic or Socialists. Though an unusually large percentage of the registered vote is polled at elections, the Swiss are not ardent partisans, and allegiance to a political party yields to national patriotism.

¹ Experts are regularly employed to draft bills.

Cantons. — Each of the twenty-five cantons, including half cantons,¹ has its own constitution and its own form of government. Six of the cantons are democracies where the voters assemble annually and make their laws directly. Such an assembly is called a *Landsgemeinde*.² This meeting also elects five persons, like the board of selectmen in a New England town,



A SWISS LANDSGEMEINDE IN APPENZELL

At these meetings the best seats are often reserved for boys of high school age, but note the absence of women.

who execute the laws throughout the year and perform such functions as the *Landsgemeinde* assigns to it. .

Eleven cantons are republics with an obligatory referendum. In these the laws are enacted by a one-chamber legislature, but the important ones do not become effective until referred to the people and approved.

Seven cantons are republics with optional referendum. The one-chamber legislatures can make laws which become effective

¹ There are 19 whole cantons and 6 so-called half cantons that have only half representation in the Council of States.

² *Landsgemeinde* is pronounced *länts'gě mīn dč*.

after a specified period unless a referendum is petitioned by the voters. One canton, Freiburg, is without the referendum in either form.

The Swiss cantons, as well as the federal government, are noted for efficiency, thrift, and honesty.

Neutralization. — By the Congress of Vienna, in 1815, the stronger nations around Switzerland agreed to respect



SWITZERLAND SPEEDS UP ITS DEFENSES IN CASE OF WAR

Members of the women's Anti-Air Raid Brigade, equipped with special ski costumes, gas masks, and helmets, test the operation of the first gas and bomb proof shelter for civilians in Zurich. Each of the underground chambers will accommodate two hundred persons.

her neutrality and not to invade the country. And even to this day Switzerland neither assumes obligations, even under the League of Nations, to send troops abroad, or to admit foreign troops to her soil — except as refugees who are interned until the end of a war.

Yet Switzerland maintains an army to protect her neutrality. She has only a skeleton standing army, but every sound male

citizen is bound to perform military service. Children are trained to drill and shoot, and adults are at regular intervals called for mobilization and training.

Because of the militarization of Mussolini and Hitler, Switzerland has elaborately fortified her borders. But because she is cut off from the rest of the world she is economically dependent upon Germany for her iron and coal and some foods. In return the Swiss factories are running day and night to supply Germany with munitions — especially motors and precision instruments.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Describe Switzerland as to size and population.
2. Describe the Swiss Confederacy.
3. Describe the Federal Republic, National Council, and Federal Council.
4. Explain the initiative and referendum in Switzerland.
5. Describe cantons and other local government in Switzerland.
6. Explain the neutralization of Switzerland.

PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION

1. In spite of centuries of conflict and diversity in language, religion, and racial origin, the Swiss people are now politically and patriotically united. Can this fact be used as an argument for a League of Nations?

2. In Switzerland illiteracy is practically non-existent, and many people believe that Switzerland has the best system of government in the world. What effect do these facts have upon the patriotic unity of the people?

3. Compare the chief executives of the Swiss government with those of the United States; of Great Britain.

4. Is it easiest to amend the Constitution of the United States, of Great Britain, or of Switzerland?

5. Do you think Switzerland's neutrality will save her from Hitler and Mussolini?

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CHAPTER XIV

SWEDEN AND THE MIDDLE WAY

Introduction. — One of the most interesting and “different” countries in the world today is Sweden. This is because her government is handling the economic and social problems of the country in a manner that is arresting the attention of the world. Sweden is striking a middle ground between the extremes of individual capitalism on the one hand and communism on the other. She is not capitalistic, or socialistic, or communistic, — but the consumers themselves are organizing their efforts and are producing the things they want “not for profit but for use.”

The Government. — There is nothing striking about the machinery of Sweden’s government. It is a *constitutional monarchy*. King Gustav ascended the throne in 1907 upon the death of his father, and has proved one of the most satisfactory kings in the history of Sweden. Parliament is known as the *Riksdag*,¹ with an upper and lower chamber,² and a cabinet presided over by a Prime Minister. While both houses are essentially dominated by the Social Democratic Labor party, there are five different parties represented in each of the chambers.

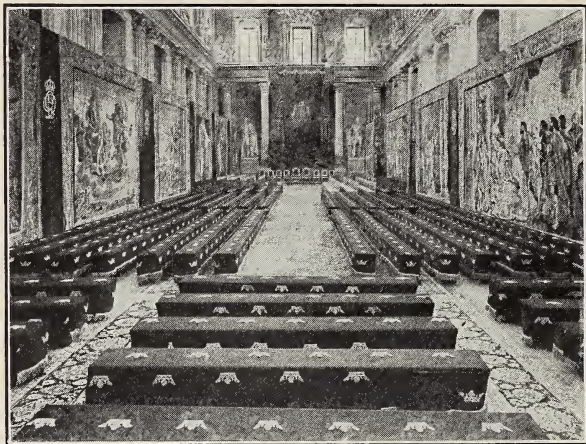
The fundamental laws upon which the government rests consist of (1) the Constitution of 1809, the second oldest democratic constitution in existence; (2) the Law of Free Press of 1812; and (3) the Law of Royal Succession of 1810. Otherwise the Swedes develop as they wish, bound by very little legal precedent, and frequently amending their constitution.³

¹ Riksdag is pronounced riks’däg.

² The lower chamber is called the *Andra Kammaren*; the upper chamber is called the *Forsta Kammaren*. The members of each are elected by popular vote for a term of four years.

³ Significant changes were made in the constitution in 1920 after the economic upheaval caused by the War; and also in 1933 in order to better cope with the depression.

Swedish law is direct and simple and is codified into a single volume that is kept up to date. This volume is distributed widely and, along with the Bible,¹ is found in the majority of homes. There are no bulky statutes to wade through as in most democratic countries, such as our own.



Courtesy Swedish Travel Information Bureau

THRONE ROOM OF THE ROYAL PALACE

This is an interior view of the seventeenth century palace at Stockholm. King Gustaf plays down royal pomp and rarely uses this room except for the opening of Parliament.

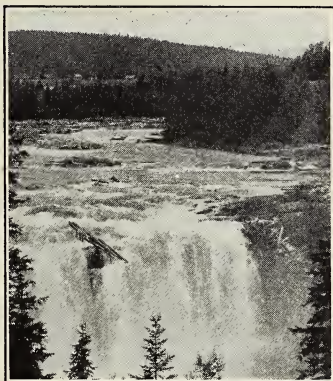
With this rather ordinary structure of government the Swedes, located in their remote rocky peninsular country, less than half the size of Texas and with a population less than that of New York City, have startled the world by reducing their unemployment to a very low level and regulating their lives so as to maintain a high standard of living. *What have they done to bring this about?*

Private Ownership and Operation of Industry Still Exists. — Individuals and corporations continue to own and operate

¹ Lutheranism is recognized as the state religion. Most of the people are Lutherans, and the King must be a Lutheran.

industries in Sweden, and about one half of the business of the country is carried on in this manner. But alongside this private ownership, there are other forms of industrial control.

Certain Industries Are Controlled by the Government. — If at any time a majority of the Swedish people decide that a particular form of business can be carried on better by the government than by any other method of control, the government takes it over. The Swedes do not have the notion that it is wrong for the government to compete with private industry, or that a business will be successfully run only if those who run it are allowed to make a profit. They are much more interested in the question "Will it work?" than in "Who will run it?"



Galloway

WATER POWER AND LOGGING IN SWEDEN

It would be difficult to understand this confidence in government operation of industry if we did not remember that state industry is deep-seated in the economy of Sweden. *For centuries the state has owned and regulated the forest lands and the lumbering industry.* With such ownership went a sense of deep concern and the state has worked out a conservation program that will safeguard Sweden's forests almost indefinitely. After the War, with the decline of Russian timber products in world trade, Swedish prestige grew in this field. And today more than half of the total land of Sweden is in forestry (over 50,000,000 acres). Of this the state actually owns about one fourth. The rest is owned by private corporations, churches, or municipalities. The state is gradually adding to its holdings, particularly in the southern part of the country. In this industry the state *competes on equal terms with private concerns*, that is, it pays

local and central taxes (about 10 per cent of the gross income) and does not have as a goal the elimination of its private competitors.

In the *mining and smelting of ore* the state is not so completely in the business itself — private companies being permitted to function on the basis of a limited profit, the balance going to the state. That is, in a sense, the private companies operate *for* the government, being allowed a reasonable profit. The state *delegates* the operation of its mines to private concerns, and in this sense works out a combination method of private and state control.

The Combination of Private and Government Control Is Illustrated by the Swedish Power System. — For centuries many of Sweden's swift rivers and powerful falls have been owned by the state. This made it easy for the government to begin to plan its own power system. But in this industry the government has remained mostly the wholesaler, selling to cities, towns, co-operatives, and private concerns. It sells the power at cost of production plus a small margin of surplus, and in this way does not hinder private industry at all. In some instances private and public power plants are actually linked together, both contributing by serving specific areas. This is difficult for us to understand in a country where competition is keen and often unfriendly.

The results of the combination system seem positive, for at present about 50 per cent of the agricultural area of Sweden is electrified, and even a higher per cent is electrified in districts covered by state power. Hundreds of miles of railroads, also owned and operated by the government, are electrified.

In Some Businesses the State Is a Monopolist. — For example, in the liquor and tobacco industries, corporations which are practically private are created by law. But the securities issued represent only a fraction of their capitalization. And all the profits accruing to these monopolies, beyond a very limited dividend to those who hold the small securities, go to the government. Furthermore, in these monopolies the government reserves the right to determine who shall hold the securities and

even reserves the right to supervise the affairs of the corporations created.

The taking over of the tobacco monopoly in 1915 was done in order to find a source of revenue for the old-age pension system started at that time. It has been so successfully carried on that the pension system really costs the state very little.¹

At the present time there is much agitation for the extension of the monopolistic state system to the coffee and gasoline industries. The purpose of the extension is to broaden the social security program, including larger pensions and the reduction of the pension age from 67 years to 65 or even 60.²

The Co-operative Movement in Industry Has Attracted Most Attention. — This movement did not get under way until 1910 — long after it had been introduced in England. Its really striking growth has come about since 1925, and it now extends throughout the land. The co-operative movement consists of people that have joined together in companies or organizations. These organizations are known as *co-operatives*. They own and operate a number of industries. The co-operative movement is neither capitalistic, communistic, socialistic, nor state monopolistic. It is a case of individuals that use definite commodities, getting together and making these articles for themselves, and then arranging for them to be shipped, stored, and sold. *The co-operatives are owned and run by the consumers*, and develop

¹ The pension system is interestingly worked out. Everyone over the age of 16 is required to contribute in proportion to his income to a compulsory old-age insurance system. Local communities are also required to contribute to the central pension fund on behalf of those unable to make their own contributions. In a sense, therefore, each community cares for its own citizens. At the age of 67 every citizen, regardless of his financial position, is entitled to a pension, the amount depending upon the size of his own contributions through the years. The minimum of 150 kroner is guaranteed by the state even to those who have contributed nothing, but those contributing look with pride upon the amount they have saved through the years for their old age. In this way the state becomes a sort of savings bank for its citizens.

² The radio industry is similarly managed, the state Telegraph Board managing all programs and collecting a license fee of about \$2.70 per radio set installed. This system is similar to our automobile license system in the United States.

wherever groups of Swedes feel that they are paying too high prices for what they are using.

How did the movement arise? Certain industries were under the control of private trusts and monopolies that controlled the entire market in the things they produced. They could run the small producer out of business and raise the prices for their products. It was then that the consumers awoke and decided to go into business for themselves to curb these greedy monopolies and trusts. There was a realization that capitalism was reaching the monopoly stage where industry and wealth were passing into the hands of a few.

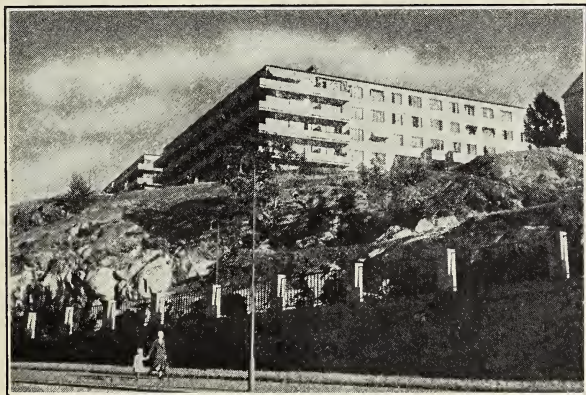
The consumer control began in the margarine industry. Margarine is widely used in Sweden and when the trusts raised the price on this commodity it affected practically every Swede. The consumers banded together and formed a co-operative union with the slogan of "production for use and not for profit."

Private retail merchants saw these new "co-ops" as a threat and menace to their profits and banded together to fight them by removing the source of supply. This was done by arranging with those who controlled the supply of margarine to stop selling the product to the "co-ops." The consumer "co-ops" retaliated by buying a factory and making their own margarine. After grave difficulties and many reverses, the "co-ops" broke the power of the trust in less than two years (1911). Since that time they have extended their efforts to flour, rubber, electric light bulbs, sugar, soap, chocolate, galoshes (worn practically all the year in Sweden), and other necessities of life. Today these co-operatives control about one third of all retail trade and 10 per cent of all wholesale trade. About one sixth of the industry is controlled by the government as outlined above. The remaining less than one half is still in the control of private individuals and corporations.

The task of the co-operative was not always easy. As one authority has said, "during the battle the trusts or cartels would temporarily slash prices below cost. The success of the co-operatives depended upon the Swedish consumer's knowing

this was but temporary and patronizing his co-operative until the cause was won."

The Swedish Co-operative Housing Society has built many modern apartment buildings. At the end of the World War an influx of foreign refugees sought a home in Stockholm. The city became so overcrowded that there was danger of the development of slums, disease, and crime. Rents were exorbitant and real estate agencies were combining to form a housing



Courtesy Robert Cerney

NEW HOUSING DEVELOPMENTS IN STOCKHOLM

trust to control prices. Again the consumers' co-operatives stepped in and at present about 70,000 people, in Stockholm alone, live in co-operatively built houses. These apartments form one of the most remarkable achievements of the co-operative movement. They are unusually comfortable and roomy, with pleasant views and attractive decorations. Practically each apartment house has its own co-operative laundry, garbage incinerator, and a nursery where the mothers may leave the babies while they go to work. The tenants also have their own co-operative retail store and garage. The rents range from \$10 per month up, and many persons of small incomes live comfortably in them.

The city of Stockholm also has aided the housing program. For a down payment of \$80 and assistance in putting his home together, an individual can buy a pre-fabricated "magic house" on a suburban lot in Stockholm. These houses are built on a general plan in large pieces and are shipped to the desired location. Here they are put together. During the past 10 years more than 50,000 persons have moved into these "magic houses" in the one city of Stockholm. Individuals living in them have annual incomes usually ranging from \$800 to \$1300 a year, most of them being industrial workers and some government civil service employees.

These Different Plans Have Practically Lifted Sweden out of the Depression. — It was while the rest of the world continued to struggle with the economic depression that it suddenly became aware that Sweden had solved many of her problems. By forgetting to argue and worry about the *kind* of economic control and concentrating her attention upon the *results* of economic control, Sweden has accomplished among other things the following :

1. Reduced her unemployment to a small fraction of her population.
2. Increased her sales of radios, telephones, automobiles.
3. Extended urban and rural electrification significantly.
4. Balanced her budget.
5. Increased her timber trade with Europe and especially with England.
6. Stabilized her currency on the basis of purchasing power at home, rather than with too much concern for foreign exchange rates.
7. Maintained a consistent low-tariff policy throughout the depression (our exports to Sweden increasing 78 per cent in 1934-1935 — the greatest gain recorded for any country).
8. Reduced illiteracy to less than one tenth of 1 per cent through universal education.
9. Accepted a many-sided system of industrial control, including (a) private control, (b) state control of mo-

nopolies, (c) state ownership, and (d) consumer co-operative control.

Factors Making This Adjustment Possible for the Swedes. —

The Swedes are a shrewd people who have learned to *co-operate and compromise* within their own boundaries. It is a lesson learned from hard realities and a long history. The outstanding factors that have contributed to the success of these people may be summarized as follows :

1. Sweden has a homogeneous population with common characteristics, loyalties, and hopes.
2. The Swedes early became aware of the difficulties a smaller nation in the competitive world must face to survive.
3. For more than 100 years they have been at peace, able to push forward economically, socially, and politically, without the hindrance of national hatreds and wars that have disrupted the nations of Europe.
4. The people have been made strong, historically, having for centuries fought their way to freedom — learning the futility of the war game — but retaining the viking courage and bravery.
5. Sweden is isolated on her rocky land, remote from the wars of Europe, and practically free from the dangers of invasion. Thus she can concentrate on internal development and growth.
6. The remarkable diversity of industry, ranging from manufacturing, lumbering, mining, fishing, and commerce, to farming, give Sweden a desirable economic structure.
7. The remarkable ability of the Swedes to judge situations calmly and to compromise for the sake of producing effective results grows out of the high intelligence of the population, and is an asset to the changing economic order.
8. The country, being comparatively small, makes united action fairly easy. The country has a long coastline and hence has seafaring as an industry and as cheap transportation.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. What are the basic differences between communism and consumer co-operatives?
2. In what industries does the Swedish government compete with private business? What differences in governmental policies between the United States and Sweden have made this possible?
3. Of what benefit have consumer co-operatives been to the Swedish people?
4. List the results of economic control in Sweden.
5. The constitutional monarchy of Sweden has remained in power even though the actual control is democratic in fact if not in name. What factors have made this possible?
6. There is little need for lawyers except as legal advisers in Sweden. Each man acts as his own lawyer in many of the Swedish trials. Tell why this is possible in Sweden and would be practically impossible in the United States.

PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION

1. The National Bank of Sweden (the *Riksbank*) belongs to the state. It is under the guarantee of the state. All other banks in the land are branch or joint banks of the *Riksbank*. Therefore bank failures are practically impossible and deposits need no special guarantee. Do you favor such a plan?
2. The Swedes, in spite of their progressive movements, retain their King. They feel that he upholds tradition, and adds stability, unification, and color to the country. King Gustav himself is not the forbidding type of king. He is thrifty, modest, and kindly. His family is intelligent, a number of its members having attained high accomplishments in professional and scientific fields. Do you think Sweden is wise to retain its King, even though this arrangement be a sort of contradiction of the progressive program in the industrial field?
3. Explain the following statement: "The many-sided economic control worked out by the Swedes illustrates their skill at compromise; between those who would exploit every human need and desire for the sake of profit and those who would compel human beings to fit into an arbitrary pattern."
4. Do small peaceful nations like Sweden or large aggressive nations have the greater tax burden?
5. The first retail co-operative was formed in Rochdale, England. It started with 27 men and one woman and a capital of \$140. In 1934 there were 44,000 members, and the organization had a capital of over \$2,800,000. On the whole British co-operatives have been one-sided. They have been almost wholly consuming — goods flowing into them

from private capitalists — whereas the Swedish co-operatives have undertaken considerable production, thus attempting a double saving for the consumers. Do you think the British co-operatives would do well to undertake production as well as retailing?

6. The aim of the English co-operatives is the ultimate abolition of private profit, and to establish a co-operative commonwealth in which all business will be done by the co-operatives and the state. Under such an organization of society all national income (except a small fixed return of capital) would be paid in workers' wages and salaries, and all



Courtesy Swedish Travel Information Bureau

STOCKHOLM — "THE VENICE OF THE NORTH"

The Town Hall in the foreground overlooks old Stockholm, the history of which goes far into the Middle Ages. Forming a little island just above the Town Hall is the Municipal Bathhouse.

profits would accrue to consumers in the form of lower prices. In Sweden, the aim is quite different. The Swedish co-operatives are to act as a sort of price yardstick. The co-operatives do not desire a co-operative monopoly. They want to compete with private capital. But they intend to use the co-operatives as means of keeping prices reasonable. Which do you prefer, the English or Swedish aim?

7. A co-operative store or factory is operated at cost, and any surplus left over after all expenses are paid is returned to the members as a patronage dividend according to the amount of their purchases. The surplus need not be distributed in money; it may be in service. In any case the members decide by democratic discussion and vote what

is to be done with the surplus. Does this plan seem to be conducive to an intelligent and alert citizenry?

8. There are advanced and financially sound co-operatives in England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Switzerland, Bohemia and Moravia, Norway, Denmark, Sweden, and Finland. The governments of these countries look with favor on the co-operatives, for, government officials say, the co-operative ownership makes more intelligent citizens, creates a pride of ownership, gives the members a definite part in the nation's economic life, and experience in running their own business. And since they are active members of a democratic organization, it makes them stronger supporters of democracy in government. Do you think the adoption of some such plan of economic democracy would be helpful in preserving political democracy?

9. In 1936 President Roosevelt sent to Europe a Committee of Inquiry on Co-operative Enterprises. In February, 1937, the Committee reported. The report was scientific and accompanied with elaborate statistics, and on the whole it was favorable. The Committee pointed out that private business had not been ruined in those countries where co-operatives thrived, that the consumers had been helped, and that the standard of living had been raised. The Committee suggested that the government agencies encourage and aid American co-operatives, for, in their opinion, there was an economic use for them in America. But it was their view that co-operatives should not be started artificially, since they thrived best in those countries where they grew naturally to fill a definite need. Do you think the co-operative movement will make much headway in America? Do you think there is a need for it?

10. American farmers have organized producers' co-operatives to sell their produce. In some cases they have even organized buying co-operatives to supply themselves with their needs; but consumers' co-operatives have not made very rapid progress in America. Discuss probable reasons for this fact.

11. Advocates of the co-operative movement maintain that it will raise the standard of living, increase consumption, and introduce production for use instead of profit. They say that they are ushering in a new economic order by evolution instead of revolution. But their program does not deal with such knotty problems as technological unemployment, old age pensions, economic security, and employer-employee relations. Because of their limited approach to modern social and economic problems, do you think they are ineffective, or do you think they are only a partial answer to modern economic ills?

12. Professor Harold J. Laski of England pointed out in the 1936 Hodgson Pratt Memorial Lecture on the Spirit of Co-operation, "Civilizations perish because those who control them prefer acquisitiveness

to justice." He goes on to say, "The very essence of co-operation is the denial that the profit-making motive can ever produce a just and humane society." Do you agree with Professor Laski?

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CHAPTER XV

EUROPEAN EXPERIMENTS WITH "ISMS" AND FORMS OF GOVERNMENT

"ISMS"

Introduction. — Everybody wants what he wants when he wants it; but if there is a limited supply and a conflict of wants, everybody can't have all that he wants. Will communism, socialism, capitalism, or a combination of the three give the majority of the people the most of what they want, and of what they should have for happiness? The answer depends largely upon the circumstances of the country.

In the United States, where, in the past, we have had free lands for all who wanted them, and where we still have an unusual variety of natural resources, we have enjoyed much liberty. With our free lands all taken and our natural resources being rapidly exhausted, we may have to become less wasteful and more co-operative to get the maximum of what we want. For instance, most families in the United States enjoy their own automobile; but when our natural supply of oil is exhausted we may have to ride by bus, and if private capital becomes limited these buses may become publicly owned. Then most people will get more of what they want in the way of transportation from a frequent-schedule low-price government bus than from a private car which they cannot afford to operate.

Europe, with its increasing population and limited natural resources, has felt the pinch of poverty more acutely than the United States and has naturally experimented with government "isms." Not able to afford liberty and private cars, they experiment with a more economical government bus service.

Communism means common ownership, and the distribution of income to each according to his needs. The best example of an

experiment in nation-wide pure communism was in Russia, where practically all property was confiscated by the government; where private property and the profit system were abolished; where practically everybody was employed by the government; and where everybody received almost the same pay.



Courtesy of New York Times

UNCLE SAM: THAT GRAVEYARD DOESN'T HELP YOUR
REPUTATION, DOCTOR

Communism is humanitarian: to each according to his needs, and comforts to all before luxuries to any; but pure communism is not just. It is not fair that a healthy person who does not work or who idles on the job should receive the same as one who works industriously.

In Russia pure communism was a failure. Lack of competition for profit killed incentive and initiative, because the general run of people are selfish and respond only to material rewards. There was a shortage of everything, and the system gradually gave way to socialism, which pays workers in proportion to work done.

Socialism means the distribution of income to each according to what he has contributed towards its production. It strives to create an equal opportunity for all. It means government ownership and operation of business, with profits going into wages or to the government for the general welfare. In Russia nearly all industries are owned and operated by the government; but in western countries socialists usually advocate the public ownership only of public utilities or natural monopolies or basic industries such as electric power, mines, and railroads.

Unlike communism, socialism is just — at least in theory: to each according to what he contributes. But under socialism, like communism, industries are operated by the government; and as a rule one does not work as hard for the government as for himself. If there is profit in a government-operated industry the profit belongs to the public, and if there is a deficit the public makes it up with taxes. The government official neither wins nor loses because of his management, except that by good management he contributes more, and so is entitled to more return.

Capitalism means private ownership and the distribution of income to each according to his ability to bargain or his fortune to inherit. Under pure communism or complete socialism there is no competitive buying or selling — no bargaining because there is no private ownership. Under capitalism employers bargain with employees for their labor; producers bargain with consumers for the sale of products; investors bargain through the stock exchanges for the sale and purchase of stocks and bonds; and hundreds of investment trusts hold the people's money until they can buy on a low market — hoping later to sell on a high market.

Capitalism is especially strong on its productive side. The

individual is risking his own money and will naturally put forth his best efforts to make his enterprise succeed. Capitalism is weak on its distributive side. Those who have great ability to bargain, or who inherit capital to use in bargaining, acquire more than they need, while the masses of laborers receive less than they need to buy what they want. Therefore the surplus goods so efficiently produced under a capitalistic system can't be sold because the workers have not received a sufficient share of the profits.

Fascism and Naziism are *restricted capitalism with some socialism and a tinge of communism*. In Italy and Germany private property continues to exist subject to hundreds of restrictions, such as high progressive income and inheritance taxes, capital levies, prohibited and compulsory uses of



Newspictures

HITLER — THE STANDARD BEARER

This painting won a prize at a recent Munich exhibition and soon became Vienna's most popular postcard.

property, the importation or exportation of money prohibited or restricted, and restrictions on the property of certain races.

In Italy and Germany the government ownership and operation of the postal system, the railroad system, air communication, power, and many of the munition plants are illustrations of socialism. Public free education and old age pensions borne wholly or partly by the government are illustrations of communism.

In the United States of America we have restricted capitalism with some socialism, and a bit of communism; but our restrictions are not anything like so great as in Italy and Germany. The names capitalism, socialism, or communism should not frighten us. We should to the best of our ability get the best of each and eliminate the worst of each.

FORMS OF GOVERNMENT

Introduction. — Just as there is great difference of opinion regarding the extent of government, there is likewise a difference in views as to the best kind. In hot climates absolute monarchs or modern dictators are usually essential. Likewise where the citizens are uneducated or politically excitable or of mixed races, representative government has hard sledding. For an educated, homogeneous people of a temperate climate, like the British, a representative government is possible and desirable. In small Swiss cantons direct government by the people — “democracy” — worked satisfactorily for a long period; but most of the cantons have given up direct democracy for representative governments.

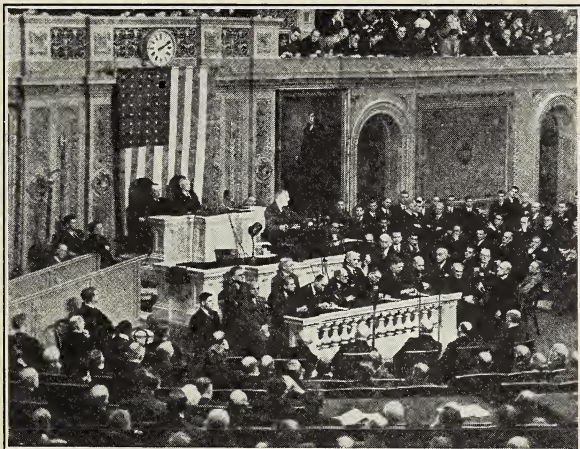
Democratic means *rule of the people* (Gr. *demos* — the people, and *krateo* — to rule). No nation today is ruled directly by the people. The term has come to mean representative government in which the people elect representatives who in general carry out the will of the majority. Thus we speak of Great Britain, France, and the United States as the three great democratic nations in contrast with the dictatorial states, such as Italy, Germany, Russia, and Japan.

Dictatorial means *dominated by one leader*. A dictator may be voted to power as Adolf Hitler claims to be through referendums from time to time. He may seize power by force as Benito Mussolini did. He may gain it through the leadership of the only political party allowed, as was done by Josef Stalin. Or he may remain in power by manipulating the election or arresting political opponents as is often done in Latin America.

Representative (*called republican if there is no monarch*) means *through agents chosen by a wide electorate*. In the United States it is rather direct through a Congress and President elected directly by the people (the electoral college not functioning). In Great Britain it is indirect. The people elect members of the House of Commons. Its leader becomes Prime Minister. He appoints about twenty Cabinet members from Parliament, and the Prime Minister and his Cabinet become the “govern-

ment." The House of Commons debates the government bills and may amend them with the assent of the government. It may also refuse to follow the government, in which case the government is forced to resign.

Executive Type of Government means one whose chief executive is chosen independently of the legislative branch, remains in office for a definite elective term, and is more or less independent of the



© Harris & Ewing

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT OPENS CONGRESS

Note the gallery for the public at the top of the picture. Governmental agencies of the dictatorial states often meet behind closed doors.

legislative branch while in office. A good example is the Government of the United States. The Latin-American countries have in the main followed this type.

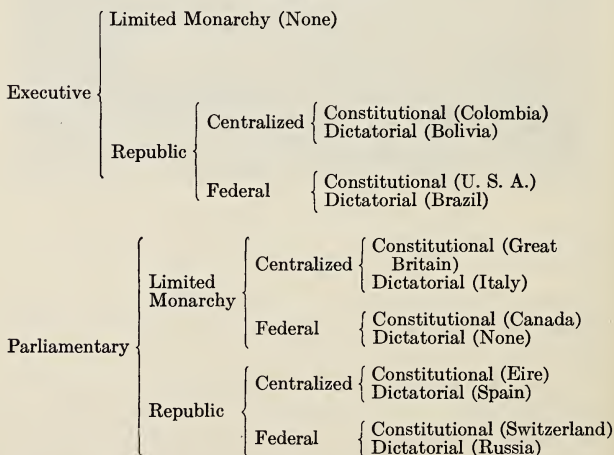
Parliamentary Type of Government means one in which the executive branch is subordinate to the legislative branch. In Great Britain the King is subordinate to Parliament, as was so spectacularly demonstrated when King Edward VIII was not allowed to marry Mrs. Simpson. Likewise, the Prime Minister and his Cabinet may be forced from office at any time by the

House of Commons. Parliamentary government is also called *responsible government* because the executive branch is responsible for its actions to the legislative branch.

Constitutional Government is government according to law: where the people are protected against arbitrary rule. A written constitution does not necessarily insure constitutional government, as illustrated in Latin America. On the contrary, Great Britain has constitutional government without a written constitution.

Centralized or Unitary Type of Government means one whose authority extends throughout a consolidated state with power to make all laws. Under it any local government may be changed or disestablished, but the central government may do anything it chooses. Great Britain and France are good examples. There the Parliaments are very powerful, as Bagehot implied by his remark quoted on page 143.

CLASSIFICATION



Federal Type of Government means one in which the powers are divided between the central government and the governments

of the states, or provinces, composing it; and each must respect the powers of the other as divided by the constitution. Our United States of America is an example of this type of government.

TERMS EMBRACING "ISMS" AND FORMS OF GOVERNMENT

Totalitarianism (*also called authoritarianism*) means *governmental supremacy in all matters*. For instance, Italy, Germany, Russia, and Japan believe that the individual cannot know what is good for him and must be guided by the authorities, who know what is best for the state and the individual. The individual studies and reads what the government decrees and hears what it wants him to hear. He is at the government's beck and call; and if he incurs the government's displeasure he may be imprisoned in a concentration camp, or shot "for the good of the state."

Totalitarian governments are usually instituted by dictators who govern with the support of one party — opposition parties being forbidden or practically eliminated. In Italy the party is called *Fascist*;¹ in Germany, *National Socialist*;² in Russia, *Communist*; and in Japan, a nationalistic military group who stand for Japanese expansion by aggression.

Corporate Government is a term originating in Italy under Mussolini which refers to the 22 "corporations" into which the industries and professions are divided. Employees of each of these groups are required to organize, and likewise the employers. If the employers and employees of a group are unable to settle their controversies over wages, hours of labor, or conditions of labor, peacefully, the government intervenes and prescribes conditions which must be observed. Strikes are not allowed in Italy, Germany, Russia, or Japan.

Anarchism means *no rule — that is, no government in the usual sense*. We usually associate anarchists with desperate persons who assassinate rulers because dissatisfied with the government

¹ *Fasces* is the Latin for a bundle of rods, having among them an ax with the blade projecting, which was borne before the Roman magistrate as an emblem of authority. (Fascism is pronounced fāsh'iz'm.)

² Nazi is pronounced nā'tsê.

under which they live. But philosophical anarchists, like those who developed considerable strength at Barcelona, Spain, would replace existing aristocratic or middle-class governments by organizations of laborers. They were a radical labor group that did not follow the ideology of Karl Marx.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Do crowded countries of Central Europe and the United States with her great resources need the same type of government or degree of government?

2. Explain the following: Communism, Socialism, Capitalism, Fascism, and Naziism.

3. Explain the following: Democratic, Dictatorial, Representative.

4. Explain the following: Executive type of government, Parliamentary type, Constitutional Government, Centralized or Unitary type, Federal type.

5. Explain the following: Totalitarianism, Corporate Government, and Anarchism.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Explain which of the "Isms" described in this chapter is being practiced in each of the following governmental activities:

(a) Unlimited and untaxed inheritances.

(b) Buying and selling stocks with the idea of making profits as the markets fluctuate up and down.

(c) Government ownership and operation of railroads, power plants, and other activities.

(d) Paying the same wages to all regardless of ability or energy.

(e) Public free schools and old age pensions.

(f) The postal service in the United States.

(g) Requiring young people to spend a year in work camps, limiting the number who may be educated for professions, allowing a doctor to specialize in only one line, and prohibiting the possession of short-wave radio sets which pick up foreign stations.

(h) Prohibiting strikes and providing government machinery for the compulsory settlement of labor disputes.

2. Why is capitalism strong on the productive side but weak on its distributive side?

3. Do great mechanical inventions, electric power, and large corporations and trade unions create the need for more or less government? Explain.

4. Can factories keep running if laborers do not receive enough wages to purchase what the factories produce? If the government

taps surplus profits by progressive income taxes and inheritance taxes, is the government acting in a capitalistic or socialistic fashion?

5. As our governmental functions increase do you think the activities can be best handled by the 531 members of Congress, or by the Cabinet

AN HOUR'S WAGES WILL BUY					
	BASKETS	LBS.	LBS.	NUMBER	PAIRS
	OR	OR	OR	OR	OR
					
	OF FOOD	BREAD	BUTTER	CIGARETTES	SOCKS
<u>U.S:</u>	2.83	7.5	1.6	112	4.4
<u>BRITAIN</u>	1.26	1.8	0.8	21	1.7
<u>FRANCE</u>	1.23	5.0	0.5	40	0.9
<u>BELGIUM</u>	1.11	4.9	0.4	58	1.3
<u>GERMANY</u>	1.02	2.5	0.5	30	1.5
<u>ITALY</u>	0.65	2.8	0.3	15	0.5
<u>RUSSIA</u>	0.40	1.9	0.2	16	0.6

THE UNITED STATES IS RICH IN RESOURCES AND EFFICIENT IN PRODUCTION

The approximate figures showing comparative wages and purchasing power just before the outbreak of World War II, indicate that Americans were relatively well paid for the work that they did. In the totalitarian countries a larger proportion of the population was employed and they worked longer hours. In the United States the pay per hour was outstandingly good, but the pay per year during peace time was not satisfactory. Neither was the average per capita satisfactory in times of peace. War conditions have, of course, made radical changes in the above statistics.

with a planning board — Congress developing leaders, holding the purse strings, and investigating questionable administrative actions.

6. The fathers of our constitution established a representative government, but not a democracy. Today many of our Congressmen want to remain in office and therefore keep their ears to the ground in their districts, and vote according to what they think they hear. Radio

and telegraphic propaganda by selfish interests or self-appointed persons often scare Congress into voting contrary to their better judgment.

In Great Britain Parliament largely turns legislation over to about 20 leaders called the Prime Minister and Cabinet. Parliament influences the selection of these leaders, criticizes them, and forces them to resign when the majority ceases to have confidence: but the Cabinet prepares legislation and determines policy as long as it is in favor.

Do you think our Government would be more efficient in promoting the general welfare if the President should invite into his Cabinet the leaders of his party in Congress, and therein prepare the outstanding administration measures? Should the President have a well-paid planning board to give him advice: a rotating board appointed for terms of 15 years on salaries equal to those of Supreme Court judges, with the duty of recommending more efficient reorganization of our administration, methods of obtaining greater efficiency, and wise expenditures planned to provide work for the unemployed?

7. If we should thus make our Government more representative than democratic, would you favor a generous allowance for Government propaganda: that is, provide for daily broadcasting, if necessary, to answer attacks made by the opposition party or affected interests or persons having animus against the administration? Should we also give the opposition party in Congress the free use of the wires to express representative opposition?

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CHAPTER XVI

ITALY AND THE FASCIST¹ MOVEMENT

Introduction. — The Kingdom of Italy is about the size of the state of Nevada, but it has a population of over 44,000,000 — more than five hundred times that of Nevada. The national



consciousness of Italy attained its earliest strength in the Kingdom of Sardinia, which included Piedmont and Savoy on the mainland. Charles Albert, the King, granted a liberal constitution in 1848; and during the next twenty years the Italian

¹ Pronounced fāsh'ist.

nationhood developed by annexing all the other small states of the peninsula. Victor Emmanuel II, the son of Charles Albert, became monarch of all Italy, and the present King, Victor Emmanuel III, is the grandson of Victor Emmanuel II. His powers were similar to those of the King of England until Mussolini made him a mere figurehead.

The Constitution of Italy is amended by a bare majority of each house of Parliament. It is also undergoing change by the issuance of decrees and by usage. Since 1926 the Cabinet has had authority to issue royal decrees in almost every field of administration, provided they are confirmed by Parliament within two years. Mussolini creates and dominates the Cabinet.

The Parliament of Italy consists of a Senate and a Chamber of Fasces and Corporations. The Senate has about 375 members, including princes of the royal blood, who may vote at the age of 25, and an unlimited number of life members over 40 years of age chosen by the Prime Minister and appointed by the King.

In 1939 the Chamber of Fasces and Corporations replaced the Chamber of Deputies.¹ This new Chamber of Fasces and Corporations consists of the National Council of the Fascist Party and of the Council of Corporations, making a total of 682 members. The members of the former council are appointed by Mussolini upon the designation of the secretary general of the Fascist Party and of the latter by "Corporations" and royal decree on the proposal of Mussolini. The Chamber will seldom meet in full session but will act through a budget commission and twelve legislative commissions. The Chamber is to "collaborate" with the government — Mussolini.

¹ Under the Constitution of 1848 a Chamber of Deputies was elected by manhood suffrage for a term of five years — unless sooner dissolved; but in 1924 Mussolini created a system of unproportional representation under which each party nominated a list of candidates and the party that polled the most votes received two thirds of the seats.

From 1929 to 1939 the 400 members of the Chamber of Deputies were "designated" by the Grand Council of the Fascist Party, preferably from a list of 1000 names presented by organizations of employers and of employees and by cultural, educational, and charitable organizations. The people merely voted for or against this complete list of 400 names. If they had voted no, the Fascists would have submitted a new list of names.

Since Mussolini¹ successfully marched on Rome in October, 1922, he has chosen his own Cabinet and has occasionally threatened to dissolve the Chamber of Deputies if its members did not support his policies. The Chamber became practically powerless while Mussolini dismissed thousands of government employees, balanced the budget, censored the press, and eliminated all opposition to his régime.

Mussolini as Dictator. — Mussolini acts in the name of the King with the advice of his Cabinet, but the King must rubber stamp what Mussolini wants. Parliament is subservient to Mussolini because as Premier he designates members of the Senate and practically selects the members of the Chamber of Fasces and Corporations, who, in turn, "collaborate" with him. Parliament has granted him power to issue decrees through the Cabinet appointed by him. He forbids the existence of any political party except the Fascist Party, of which he is head; and he is kept in power by the Fascist Militia.

The Fascist Grand Council,² in 1928, was made a part of the government to insure the continuance of the fascist régime. The Grand Council is composed of the presidents of the Senate and Chamber of Deputies, all the ministers, and the chief leaders of the fascist organization. The Premier names the members of the Grand Council, and they are responsible to him alone. The Grand Council will name Mussolini's successor when his post becomes vacant.

¹ Benito Mussolini was born in a peasant home in the province of Forli, Italy, in 1885. His father was a blacksmith and a socialist who is said to have hammered at politics more than at his anvil. His mother, a school-teacher, was a religious woman of firm character and patient energy. As a boy Mussolini read extensively and became a radical socialist. As an exile in Switzerland he worked as a stone mason, but because of his radicalism he was expelled from Switzerland. He returned to his native country and edited a newspaper in Milan. When the World War began he departed from his socialistic-pacifistic views, and impelled by a nationalistic patriotism, urged the entrance of Italy into the war against Austria. When the war came, he volunteered as a private, was promoted to sergeant, was wounded, and returned to his newspaper work. He threw himself into the fascist movement against radicalism and became its leader.

² The Grand Council must not be confused with the larger National Council of the Fascist Party.

The Fascist Party proper consists of over 2,000,000 members. It is a great privilege and honor in Italy to be voted into this party, and if members do not live up to its standards they may be expelled. This party perpetuates the fascist régime in Italy through the selected leaders and through the Fascist Militia which supplies the force. To perpetuate the party there is a series of youth organizations to promote physical training, military art, and the fascist ideal.

Youth Organizations. — Theoretically the youth are not required to become members of the fascist organization, but club houses and gymnasia are constructed for them in all the leading cities, and able leadership is provided to arouse their enthusiasm. The youth organizations are as follows :

Boys :	6-8	Balilla ¹ Children of the She-Wolf
	8-12	Balilla Scouts
	12-14	Balilla Riflemen
	14-16	Advanced Riflemen
	16-18	Advanced Machine Gunners
	18-21	Young Fascists
	21-	Members of Fascist Party and Militia
Girls :	8-14	Little Italian Girls
	14-18	Young Italian Girls
	18-	Young Fascist Girls

Young Fascists receive rather intense training of a political character through lectures by party men and authoritative books read and discussed. The most loyal and promising of these are admitted as members of the party when they become twenty-one years of age.

The Young Fascist Girls combine study and work with physical exercise and social service activities. They are trained to visit the homes of the poor and the sick ; and are trained to direct summer camps. They are also given vocational training, such as typewriting, clerking, household work, and gardening, as well as other branches of farming.

¹ Balilla was the name of an Italian boy who stoned the Austrians.

Fascism¹ was originally considered the dictatorship of capitalists in contrast with Communism in Russia, which was the dictatorship of the laborers. Mussolini was brought into power through contributions of capitalists. He suppressed labor organizations, forbade strikes, and brought working conditions under the control of the government. However, he has twice imposed a 10 per cent tax on the capital of the wealthy, and



MUSSOLINI REVIEWS HIS "LEGIONS OF THE FUTURE"

Il Duce reviews the Avanguardisti, boys who have not yet reached military age, as they march through Rome to the eleventh annual encampment of the organization.

private business must be operated according to detailed requirements of the government. Italian industry is still owned by private individuals. It is still operated for profit which goes to private individuals. But Italian capitalism under Mussolini is modified capitalism.

The Corporate System of Regulating Industry. — In Italy industry is regulated through "corporations." The Italian corporation is not a business concern, like the United States

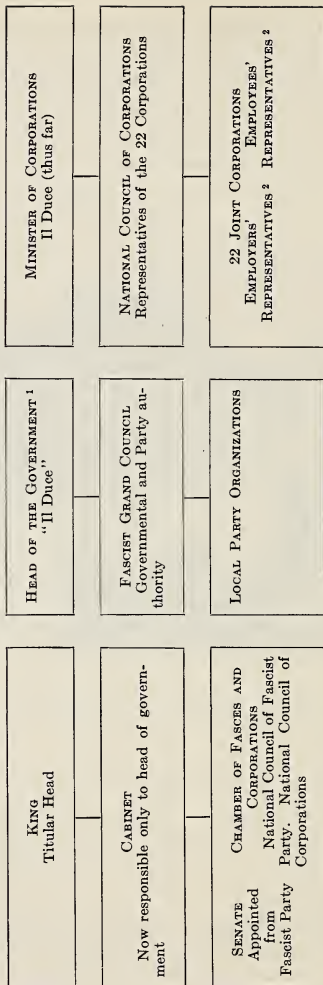
¹ For meaning of term see pages 253 and 257, note.

THE GOVERNMENT OF ITALY

*Survival of Pro-Fascist
Parliamentary Government*

*Fascist Party
Organization*

*New Corporate
Economic Structure*



¹ "Head of the Government" is the official title and "Il Duce" is the Party title.

² By "Representatives" we include National Confederations of Fascist Syndicates, Federations of Syndicates, Provincial and Regional Syndicates, and Local Syndicates or Occupational Unions.

Steel Corporation. It is an association of all the concerns in a particular branch of Italian industry. There are 22 of these Italian "corporations" representing the following division of Italian industry: (1) cereals; (2) horticulture, flowers, and fruit; (3) wine; (4) oil; (5) beets and sugar; (6) fisheries; (7) wool; (8) textile products; (9) metallurgy and engineering; (10) chemicals; (11) clothing; (12) paper and printing; (13) building and public works; (14) water, gas, and electricity; (15) mining industries; (16) glass and ceramics; (17) sea and air; (18) internal communications; (19) stage; (20) tourist industry; (21) insurance and credit; and (22) professions and arts.

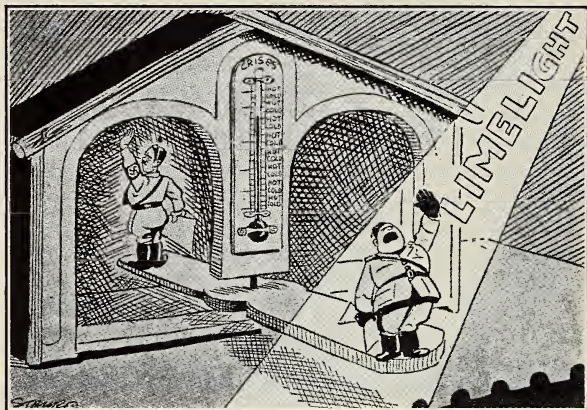
The councils that direct these 22 corporations are composed of delegates representing the workers, the employers, technical advisers, and representatives of the Fascist Party. The councilors of the corporation of cereals, for example, consist of 13 delegates of the employers, 13 of the employees, three technical experts, and three delegates of the Fascist Party. The head of all the corporations is Mussolini himself, acting as Minister of Corporations. The corporations are organs of the state. They may determine such matters as wages and working conditions only if acceptable to the government.

This corporate system limits the freedom of the worker, but he may air his grievances before specially constituted labor courts. Wages are raised or lowered when the corporation or government decrees. The freedom of employers is also restricted. For example, they cannot build new plants or expand the existing ones without the consent of the Minister of Corporations.

Local Government. — As in France, Italy has a highly centralized system of local government under the supervision of a Minister of the Interior. Italy is divided into provinces with a *prefect* (governor) appointed by the Minister of the Interior over each. The provinces are subdivided into thousands of little communes with a *podesta* (mayor) appointed by the Minister of the Interior over each commune.

Mussolini's Ideas of Government. — Mussolini's father was a blacksmith by trade, but by nature he was a radical reformer. He hammered at politics more than at the anvil. The son was

named Benito for the Mexican revolutionist, Benito Juarez, so Mussolini naturally developed into the type that wants to change the world by propaganda and force instead of by education and well-considered gradual change. Because of his unconventional ideas he did not fit into his environment and went to live in Switzerland where extremists have been allowed to air their views. When he became a nuisance even in free



Strube, courtesy Washington Post

ROME AXIS

Switzerland he was expelled and went back to Italy to turn the world upside down.

Mussolini possessed a high I. Q., and when he became Dictator of Italy he restored order, destroyed the Black Hand cliques which for generations had defied the local governments, cleaned up the cities, caused railroads to run on time, carried on electrification and reclamation projects, taught the farmer better methods, provided employment, and made Italy more nearly self-supporting.

At this stage the Dictator's pride got the better of him. Instead of wanting an Italian population commensurate with its resources, he encouraged still larger families of soldiers to man an army to seize the possessions of others. He increased the

hours of labor, produced munitions rather than foods, seized Ethiopia, helped to destroy the League of Nations, and burdened the world with armaments and wars. Anyone who vigorously opposed his plans was sent to a concentration camp or put to death.

Mussolini argued that democracy is inefficient and that a multiplicity of parties leads to confusion ; therefore he reorganized the government to function under a one-party system, made it totalitarian because he believed that the government knows better what is good for the people than they themselves know.

Restrictions under Mussolini. — Mussolini restricted the number of newspapers, placed a drastic censorship upon the press, refused passports to opponents of the government who wished to leave the country, and promoted race prejudice.

“ Racism ” in Italy. — *Background.* — In 1931 there were some 50,000 Jews in Italy, and the ancestry of a great part of them extended back a thousand years. In 1938 Italy claimed to have about 70,000 Jews, including refugees from Germany. This is a negligible number in a population of 44,000,000 people.

Before 1938 Mussolini seemed to be undisturbed by them, and Emil Ludwig’s authorized “ Talks with Mussolini,” published in 1932, quotes Mussolini as saying : “ Anti-Semitism does not exist in Italy. Italians of Jewish birth have shown themselves good citizens, and they fought bravely in the war.”

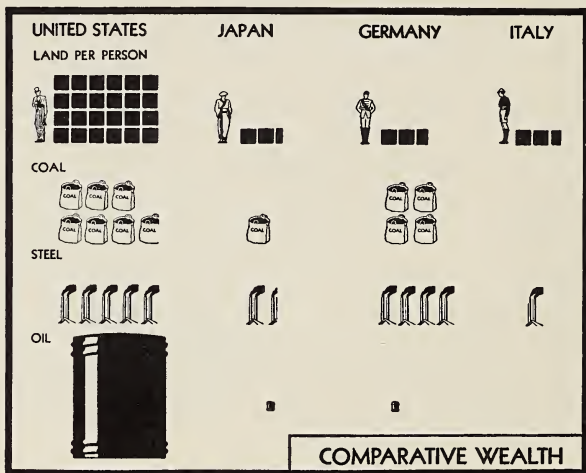
Expulsion of Recent Arrivals. — But in 1938 it was decreed that Jews who had settled in Italy since 1919 must leave the country within six months, or become subject to expulsion. They thus became homeless, jobless, and perhaps penniless, because the Italian law forbade taking more than 2500 lire (about \$130) from the country.

Restrictions on All Jews. — All Jews were expelled from the Fascist Party, from government jobs, and from the universities ; Jewish children were required to attend separate schools ; Italians were forbidden to intermarry with Jews ; Jews were forbidden to manage or own factories employing more than 100 employees ; and they were forbidden to own real estate with a taxable income exceeding approximately \$1000. As the sale

270 Italy and the Fascist Movement

of real estate by Jews was forbidden, about 70 per cent of their property was thus expropriated; and the government promised to pay for it with long-term, low-rate, non-transferable bonds for the estimated 10,000,000,000 lire involved.

Oppression. — Why did Mussolini change his opinion regarding Jews? The following suggestions might help answer the



THE COMPARATIVE WEALTH OF NATIONS AT THE OUTBREAK OF WORLD WAR II, SHOWING ITALY'S POSITION OF INFERIORITY
(From Foreign Policy Association Headline Book "War Drums and Peace Plans")

question: (1) a means of obtaining a forced loan of 10,000,000,000 lire; (2) to create jobs for the young men of the Fascist Party, evidenced by the fact that an anti-Jewish decree also excluded women from public services, or more than 10 per cent women in offices of private firms (but not from toilsome jobs); (3) to please Hitler, and to please the Arabs who hate the Zionist Jews of Palestine; (4) because "Jews for thousands of years have considered themselves everywhere, even in Italy, a separate and superior race, . . . and have in every nation formed — with

their men and their means — the general staff of anti-Fascism,” said the Secretary-General of the Fascist Party.

Over-Population. — Italian women, by decree, must devote themselves to bearing children for the Fascist state. Prizes, cups, and blue ribbons are handed out to those Italian women who produce the most babies; but many of the undernourished mothers produce weakling children. The war caused the price of beef and fish to rise to \$1 or \$2 a pound. Butter was a luxury, milk was needed to make uniforms for the soldiers, and bread often contained wood pulp. A tax was placed upon bachelors, and birth-control propaganda was forbidden.

Shortage of Resources. — Italy has scarcely enough food-stuffs and has to import essential minerals — iron, copper, tin, petroleum, and coal. The country is developing its ample water power, and Mussolini has brought about efficiency, economy, and a mind to work. But if the population continues to increase, even these merits will not prevent underfed millions. Therefore Italy is endeavoring to develop colonies for its population. In 1934 Mussolini stated that 250,000 public officials earned less than \$42.50 a month. And about 16 per cent of this was deducted for income tax and retirement dues.

African Colonies. — Before the Italian states became firmly united into the present-day Italy, the unoccupied portions of the earth had been seized by the strong powers. Even when Africa was partitioned, Italy came late for her share and received from some local “sultans” the unfertile shores of Somaliland and of Eritrea — lying wholly within the tropics, where according to an Arab saying “the soil is like fire and the wind like a flame.”

But between these shores rises the mountainous empire of Abyssinia like a jewel unworthily set in prongs of valueless brass. With Emperor Menelik of Abyssinia, Italy entered into a treaty which the Italians construed to create an Italian protectorate of the country. Menelik understood the treaty otherwise. In 1893 Menelik denounced the treaty. French officers trained his army, and French arms and munitions were supplied to his soldiers. In 1895 Italian armies invaded Abyssinia, but the following year their small armies were overwhelmed

by 90,000 Abyssinians equipped with modern rifles and artillery. In 1923 Abyssinia became a member of the League of Nations. However, on May 9, 1936, after a bitter and costly conflict, Ethiopia (Abyssinia) was annexed to Italy, by a decree issued by Mussolini making the Italian King the Emperor of Ethiopia.

The seizure of Morocco by France hastened the seizure of Tripoli by Italy because Italy feared she might be left out of North Africa altogether. Italian investments were made in



THE THREE MUST-GET-THEIRS

Tripoli, Italian newspapers grew optimistic as to the economic possibilities, diplomatic adjustments with the other powers were favorable, so in 1911 the kidnaping of an Italian girl and insults to the Italian flag aroused the Italian public to the required pitch of warlike enthusiasm. In August,

1911, Italy announced to the Great Powers that she intended to restore order in Tripoli. In September she sent an ultimatum to Turkey, and immediately she occupied the country. A year later Italy had not been able to conquer all of the interior tribes when Turkey was obliged to make peace because the Balkan War faced her. Italy received Tripoli, Cyrenaica, the Island of Rhodes, and the group of islands known as the Dodecanesia.

Expansion in Austria and the Adriatic. — During the World War under the terms of the secret treaty of London, signed in 1915, Italy was to get Trentin Venetia, Julian Venetia, the eastern coast of the Adriatic, and some islands. But at the end of the War President Wilson wanted political boundaries to coincide with racial boundaries and blocked Italy's acquisition of the eastern coast of the Adriatic except Fiume, Zara, and some islands acquired from Yugoslavia. From Austria she acquired Julian Venetia and Trentin Venetia to the Brenner Pass.

On Easter, 1939, Mussolini occupied Albania as a protectorate.

Foreign Policies of Mussolini. — Fasces, in the political history of ancient Rome, was a bundle of rods bound together, in the middle of which was an ax. Lictors carried fasces in advance of the king as a symbol of his power to punish by flogging and by putting to death. It is significant that Mussolini had this idea of kingship in mind when he named his party the Fascist Party. The use of force has been characteristic of his dictatorship, and his policy of imperialism was inspired by the old Roman conquerors.

In 1939 Mussolini said: "We wish to hear no more about brotherhood, sisterhood, cousins, and other such bastard relationships, because relationships between states are relationships of force . . ." This attitude has naturally brought him into alliance with Naziism and with militarism in Japan. Regarding Japan this inspired statement appeared in the Milan Daily:

"Fascist Italy acclaims the powerful Empire of the Rising Sun. The excellence of one of the greatest peoples of our modern world is attested by their cannon, their workshops, their cherry-trees, and their never-empty cradles. Banzai! Nippon!"

As soon as Hitler became strong enough to menace Europe so that France and Great Britain could not interfere effectively with Mussolini's moves, the latter broke his pledge under the League of Nations, took Fascist civilization to Ethiopia with bayonets and bombs, announced its annexation in May, 1936, and held it until the British restored it to Haile Selassie in 1941. Also in 1936, at first secretly and then openly, he sent an army to Spain to assist Fascist revolutionists.

Collapse of Mussolini's Empire. — Along with the loss of Ethiopia in 1941 the Italians were driven out of Eritrea and the Italian Somaliland which are adjacent. The British overran Libya late in 1942, pushing the Italians and the Germans under Marshal Rommel back through Tripoli into Tunisia. With the fall of Tripoli early in 1943 the Italians lost their last foothold on the African continent. German forces were moved into Italy for defense and to strengthen the tottering Fascist regime.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. What are the size and population of Italy?
2. How is the constitution of Italy amended? How is it undergoing changes?
3. How and for what term are senators chosen?
4. How are deputies chosen?
5. How does Mussolini govern as dictator?
6. How is the Fascist Grand Council constituted?
7. Of whom does the Fascist Party consist?
8. Describe the youth organizations. What are their purposes?
9. Is Fascism capitalism or modified capitalism?
10. Explain the corporate system of regulating industry.
11. Describe local government.
12. What are Mussolini's ideas of government?
13. List what you consider the most serious restrictions under Mussolini.
14. How many Jews are there in Italy? What restrictions are imposed upon them? Why are they oppressed?
15. To what extent is Italy over-populated?
16. Italy has a shortage of what natural resources?
17. Explain Italy's experiences with colonies in Africa.
18. Explain Italy's foreign policies.

PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION

1. On October 28, 1922, Prime Minister Facta, Socialist Premier of Italy, brought a decree of martial law for the King's signature; but the King, believing that this would lead to a civil war between the Socialists and the Fascists, refused to sign it. Instead he offered the premiership to Mussolini, who was leading 50,000 "Black Shirts" against Rome. Do you think the King acted in the interest of the people of Italy?
2. In a country with 15 political parties, do you justify the 1929 law which assigns the choice of all deputies to a party Council?
3. In Italy, Rome and all the communes have been deprived of self-government. Instead, the central government appoints a *podesta* for each commune for a period of five years. Which is more likely to enforce the laws of the central government, a *podesta* or the locally elected officers of an American town?
4. Italy's Labor Court began operating in 1927. If employers and employees fail to settle their disputes, the Labor Court investigates and hands down a decision against which there is no appeal. What are the arguments for and against the compulsory arbitration of labor disputes?

5. Mussolini has increased the working day from eight hours to nine. In the United States the scientific use of power and machinery made the 40-hour week feasible in time of peace. Now, when we are engaged in war with the Axis powers, how many hours should we work in defense industries?

6. Italy already has a larger population than it can provide with a comfortable living. Why do you suppose Mussolini is urging larger families?

7. To the extent that the United States admits immigrants from Italy, would you prefer immigrants who grew up under the old organization in Italy, when the government was not strong enough to put down Black Hand organizations, or those growing up under the fascist organization?

8. Mussolini wants all Italian children to be molded in one national ideal. Do you think this uniformity or the American diversity of training will produce the stronger nation?

9. Why did Mussolini ally himself with Hitler?

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CHAPTER XVII

GERMANY FROM THE HOHENZOLLERNS¹ TO HITLER

The State of Prussia.²—From the establishment of the Kingdom of Prussia, 1701, until the creation of the German Empire, 1871, Prussia steadily increased in area. For instance, Silesia was seized by Frederick the Great from Austria in 1740, and Posen was obtained as a result of the partition of Poland. At the outbreak of the French Revolution, 1789, there were several hundred practically independent German states. But Napoleon occupied Germany and reduced the number of these states to thirty-odd, unconsciously laying the foundation for a united Germany. When Napoleon was overthrown, Prussia added from the débris of German states, Westphalia, Rhineland, a part of Saxony, and other small ecclesiastical and temporal states. At the end of the war with Austria in 1866, Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, Frankfurt, and Schleswig-Holstein were incorporated in Prussia.

Until 1849 the King of Prussia was absolute. During that year he issued a constitution which retained for him very strong powers. According to this constitution the Prussian House of

¹ Hohenzollern is pronounced hō'ën tsól'ërn.

² The Hohenzollern dynasty of Germany which was overthrown at the end of the World War was established in Brandenburg, the province containing Berlin, about five hundred years ago. At that time territory was acquired by inheritance, by marriage, and by purchase, as well as by conquest; and at the death of a ruler it was often divided among his sons. Thus Germany was gradually divided among numerous princes. But while other states were becoming smaller, Brandenburg was becoming larger because in 1473 Brandenburg forbade the splitting up of the monarchy among sons of the deceased ruler. Early in the seventeenth century the Hohenzollern rulers of Brandenburg acquired such distant possessions as the large duchy of Prussia on the Baltic and the duchy of Cleves on the Rhine. Prussia was larger and more important than Brandenburg, and in 1701 the ruler of Brandenburg crowned himself King of Prussia at Königsberg.

Representatives was chosen by electoral colleges in which the larger taxpayers had two thirds of the delegates. The House of Peers was hereditary and the King could appoint as many as he wished. The King also had an absolute veto over legislation.

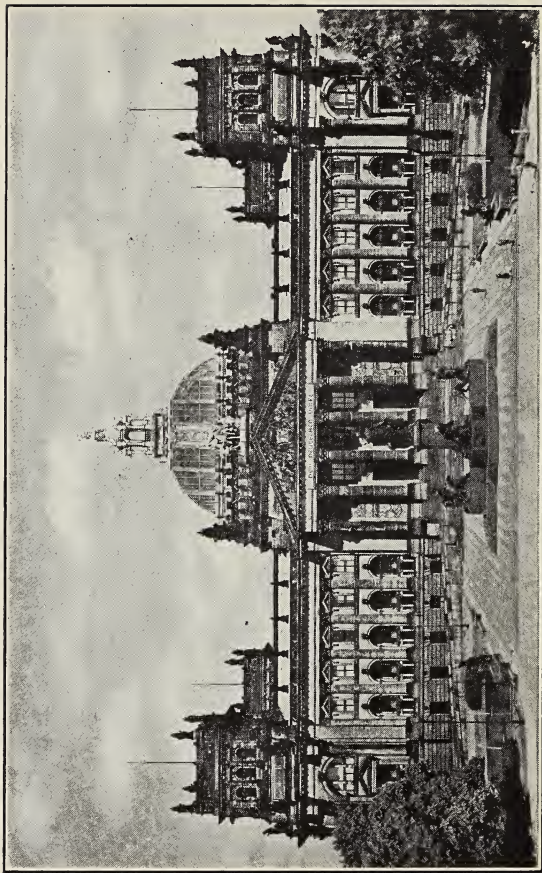
In 1918 Prussia became a republic consisting of fourteen provinces: Brandenburg, Greater Berlin, East Prussia, Pomerania, Border Province (including what is left of Posen and West Prussia), Lower Silesia, Upper Silesia, Saxony, Schleswig-Holstein, Hanover, Westphalia, Hesse-Nassau, Rhineland, and Hohenzollern. Under Herr Hitler Prussia has become a mere administrative unit.

The German Empire. — During the Middle Ages the number of German states increased to several hundred, but the Napoleonic conquest of Germany reduced them to thirty-nine. Of these states Austria and Prussia were the most important.

In 1862 King William I of Prussia appointed Bismarck as his chancellor, and Bismarck set in motion his policy of "blood and iron." In 1866 he waged an unjust war against Austria. He defeated Austria in two weeks and absorbed some of the smaller German states that had assisted Austria. This same year Prussia created the North German Federation which included all of the German states except Austria, Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden, and Hesse.

In 1870 Napoleon III of France opposed Bismarck's effort to place a German prince on the throne of Spain. This controversy was made the occasion for Bismarck to wage war against France. The Prussian troops assisted by the South German States occupied Paris and on January 18, 1871, the German Empire was formed at Versailles with Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden, and Hesse included. Thus by the war against Austria, which lasted only two weeks, and the Franco-Prussian War, which lasted only seven months, the German Empire came into being. The King of Prussia became ex-officio German Emperor (Kaiser).

The Empire consisted of four kingdoms (Prussia, Bavaria, Württemberg, and Saxony), six grand duchies, five duchies, seven principalities, three free cities (Hamburg, Bremen, and



THE CAPITOL OF GERMANY AT BERLIN

Lübeck), and one imperial domain (Alsace-Lorraine), making twenty-five states and one domain.

The German imperial parliament consisted of the Reichstag¹ and the Bundesrat.² The Reichstag was composed of members elected by universal manhood suffrage, three fifths of whom represented Prussia. No redistribution of seats took place after 1871. As a consequence, in conservative East Prussia the average number of voters in a single member district was 121,000; in socialist Berlin it was 305,000. Thus by keeping the urban socialist districts under-represented, and by making concessions to the Catholic party, the Emperor and his Chancellor were able to keep control of the Reichstag.

The Bundesrat was composed of 58 members appointed by the sovereigns of the 25 states. Seventeen of the members were appointed by the Emperor in his capacity as King of Prussia. The members of the Bundesrat from each state voted as a unit according to instructions from their respective rulers, who could recall them at any time.

The constitution was amended by a majority vote of the Reichstag and 44 votes from the Bundesrat. Hence the Emperor as King of Prussia controlled enough of the votes in the Bundesrat to prevent any amendment from being made to the constitution.

The constitution expressly provided that the Prussian vote could veto any measure making changes in the army, the navy, or the taxes. Then, too the Emperor named the Chancellor who presided over the body and cast the deciding vote. Until 1916 this Chancellor was always the same person as the Prime Minister of Prussia. The Kaiser could dismiss the Chancellor, but could not altogether disregard his opinion or act without him.

The Kaiser and the Chancellor inspired the most important legislation by having the bills introduced in the Bundesrat through the Chancellor. The Kaiser was commander-in-chief of the army and navy, and could wage defensive wars without

¹ Reichstag is pronounced rīks'tāk.

² Bundesrat is pronounced böön'dēs rāt'.

the consent of the Bundesrat. He entered the World War without its consent, declaring it to be a defensive war. As King of Prussia he named chairmanships of all committees of the Bundesrat except that on Foreign Relations.

There is little question but that the Kaiser had at heart what he believed to be the interest of his subjects. But he was the father and they were the children; he expected obedience. When subjects asked for socialism he treated them as children and gave them paternalism. Then, too, he disinherited all of



IMPERIAL OFFICERS SALUTING THE KAISER UPON HIS
BIRTHDAY, BEFORE THE WORLD WAR

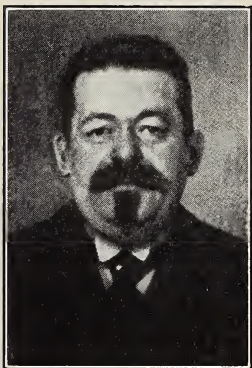
the children who became socialists. For instance, he took over the railroads for the government, but a socialist could not secure even so humble a position as a section hand on these roads.

The German Republic. — The paternalistic rule of the Kaiser had long been resented by the Social Democrats of Germany; and they were encouraged to revolt by the successful revolution of the Bolsheviki in Russia and by the implied promise of Woodrow Wilson that the German people would receive better terms of peace if they would establish a republic. So when the military collapse occurred in November, 1918, the German socialists seized the opportunity to create a republic, and placed Friedrich Ebert, a saddlemaker and leader of the Social Democrats, in control. Ebert formed a council of six members, three Social Democrats and three Independent Socialists. The



Courtesy Foreign Policy Association

Communists, under the leadership of Karl Liebknecht, wanted an economic revolution in addition to the accomplished political revolution, but this second attempt at revolution by these radicals failed and Ebert governed with a council of six Social



FRIEDRICH EBERT

He was the first President of Germany.

Democrats, after the Independent Socialists had resigned their seats in the government.

In February, 1919, a popularly elected constituent assembly of 423 members, including 39 women, met at Weimar and framed a constitution for the new German Republic. The republic was a federation of seventeen states;¹ but the powers of the central government were so great that the government approached the unitary type.

The Weimar Constitution for the Republic provided a strongly centralized federation of the seventeen states; but the powers of the

states were greatly reduced. The government was on the parliamentary type similar to that of France.

Foreign Relations under the Republic. — The Treaty of Versailles (June 28, 1919) humbled Germany internationally for many years. She lost all overseas colonies, Alsace-Lorraine, the Saar valley until it voted to return to Germany in 1935, the Polish corridor, part of Upper Silesia, Eupen and Malmédy, and a portion of Schleswig. Germany's coal production was reduced by one third, and her iron supplies by three fourths. Her property and investments abroad were seized. The German merchant marine was confiscated by the Allies, and her battle

¹ A number of the small states united and reduced the number from twenty-five to seventeen. The constitution called these states *regions* (*Länder*). In this text the term *state* is used because it is familiar to the American reader.

fleet was surrendered. The German army was restricted to 100,000 men and was forbidden to possess tanks, heavy artillery, or airplanes; and the navy was similarly restricted. The left bank of the Rhine and a fifty-kilometer zone on the right bank were demilitarized. Moreover, Germany was to pay a war indemnity of 132 billion gold marks.¹

Instinctively and violently the Germans endeavored to break the chains of the Versailles Treaty; but the French replied by occupying the Ruhr — the steel industrial center of northwest Germany — in 1923, which for Germany was economically almost as disastrous as the World War itself. In 1925, under the leadership of Chancellor Gustav Stresemann and the co-operation of Great Britain and the United States, the French were induced to withdraw from the Ruhr. Then under the co-operation of three forward-looking statesmen — Gustav Stresemann² of Germany, Aristide Briand of France, and Sir Austen Chamberlain of Great Britain — peace-promoting agreements were signed at Locarno in the autumn of 1925; and in 1926 Germany was admitted into the League of Nations on a parity with the other great powers. The United States bankers lent capital to Germany, industry revived, and the people were relatively content.

Then came the world-wide depression and Germany's increasing trade declined. Again the Germans were depressed. Jobless workers flocked to the Communist Party. The poor peasants flocked to Hitler's Nazis, who promised to save them from Bolshevism and the Jews. The Industrialists put up money for Hitler to destroy trade unions and radical parties. The Nazi Messiah appealed to the masses by promising to lead them to all sorts of promised lands. Germany was again to have her rightful place in the sun.

The Babel of Parties. — Hard times breed political parties; and the Social Democrats and Catholic Center, which had been

¹ A gold mark was worth nearly 24 cents. It was impossible for Germany to pay this indemnity in gold, and the Allies were unwilling to accept any appreciable portion in goods. The amount was several times reduced; and no substantial portion was ever paid.

² Stresemann is pronounced shtrā'zě măn.

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the mainstay of the republic, were beset by Nationalists and Nazis to the right of them and Communists to the left of them. Nothing they could do pleased both — or either — of these growing parties. Cabinet after cabinet fell, and within five years there were four elections. The graphic outline on the following page shows the party shifts between the overthrow of the Hohenzollerns and the rise of Hitler.

The summary below shows the number of seats gained by the respective parties at the elections of 1928, 1930, 1932, 1933 :

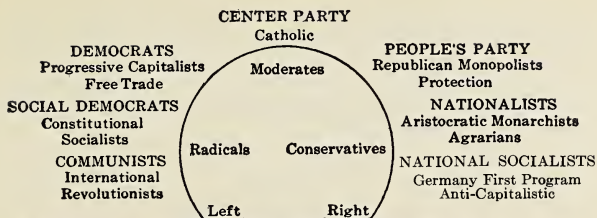
PARTY	MAY, 1928	SEPT., 1930	NOV., 1932	MARCH, 1933
National Socialists ¹ . . .	12	107	196	288
Nationalists	73	41	51	52
Catholic Center ²	78	87	89	92
People's	45	30	11	2
Democrats	25	20	2	5
Social Democrats	153	143	121	120
Communists	54	77	100	81

¹ Called "Nazis."

² Included "Bavarian Peoples."

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Which was the dominant state of Germany under the Empire of the Hohenzollerns?
2. Why did Prussia increase in size while other German states grew smaller?
3. Explain how undemocratic Prussia was under the Empire, and how absolute the King of Prussia was.
4. Explain the wars waged by Bismarck.
5. Describe the government of the German Empire.
6. Who was ex officio Emperor of Germany?
7. Explain the powers of the Emperor.
8. Explain how the German Republic was formed.
9. Its government was similar to that of what other republic?
10. What did Germany lose by the Treaty of Versailles?
11. What indemnity was imposed upon her? Was much of it paid?
12. Why did France occupy the Ruhr?
13. Explain the period of co-operation with other powers.
14. Explain what happened to Germany when the depression befell the world.



Courtesy of Foreign Policy Association

CHANGES IN PARTY POWER

15. Explain the political party situation in Germany under the republic.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Germany has grown from several hundred small principalities to a strong unified power in spite of the old saying, "twelve Germans, thirteen opinions." In the Middle Ages the Germans were loyal to their respective states which had different dialects until Martin Luther's Bible unified them. The world today is relatively smaller than the area that united into Germany. Could a similar unification of the world be brought about that would insure a just and lasting peace? How?

2. When the German army was limited by the Versailles Treaty, the Allies said such action would make it possible for them to reduce their armaments. They failed to do so. Did this justify Germany in re-arming?

3. If the United States had joined the League of Nations and had co-operated in bringing about a better distribution of the world's natural

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resources and in promoting international trade, do you think the depression would have come and caused the Germans to follow Hitler's philosophy of force?

4. Do you think the two major political parties of the United States and the English-speaking countries are better than many parties, or than one party which Germany now has?

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CHAPTER XVIII

HITLER AND THE NAZIS

THE RISE OF HITLER AND THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST PARTY ("NAZI"¹)

Why the Republic Failed. — The republic developed some excellent leaders like President von Hindenburg and Chancellor Stresemann, who brought Germany into the League of Nations and showed a willingness to co-operate with France and Great Britain; but the three nations did not have liberal co-operative leadership at the same time, and Germany despaired of the other nations conceding equality to her.

The economic depression fell heavily upon Germany, and as a result many discouraged laborers became radicals and flocked to the Communist Party. The many parties in Germany, as shown in the last chapter, made it impossible for any one party to govern, and one coalition after another fell in rapid succession. These misfortunes made the restrictions of the Versailles Treaty the more unpopular.

Character of Adolf Hitler. — Hitler is the Moses who led the children of Germany out of their political wilderness; but into a desert of short rations and a hell of international wars.

As a boy, Adolf received little formal education and traveled little; but he had a genius for leadership and a burning desire to create a great Germany.² He went only to grade school. He

¹ Nazi is pronounced nã'tzê.

² Adolf Hitler came from peasant stock in the part of Austria known as the Waldviertel. His father, a cobbler, was married three times. His first wife, moderately rich, treated this young cobbler as a mother as well as a wife, and sent him to school. Then she purchased him a job in the Austrian Civil Service. This first wife was fourteen years older than he, and she died in 1883. He married again in six weeks, but this wife lived only a year. In three more months he married Klara Poelzl, a distant cousin and maid to his first wife. He was 48 years of age and Klara was

read little and is not a man of broad culture. His mother encouraged him to become an artist; but his art instructor advised him to shift to architecture, in which he would have only straight lines to draw. His parents were Catholic, but he was never actively interested in religion, except in recent years to subordinate all sects to his ideal of a unified Germanic nation. He has always had simple tastes. He neither smokes nor drinks, and is a vegetarian. But his artistic inclinations inspired him to provide a flat in Munich with courtly sumptuousness.

Hitler Organized the National Socialist Party. — As a young man Hitler became a resident of Munich, which was near his native town across the boundary in Austria. With passionate love of the German race and desire for a united Germany he fought as corporal in the World War under the German flag. After the War he joined and soon promoted organizations opposed to the post-war régime. Finally at Munich he headed the National Socialist German Labor Party, familiarly known as the Nazis. This party was organized in 1920 as a small group, anti-Semitic, with vague socialist leanings but strongly opposed to the Social Democrats and the republican constitution of the Reich. In 1923 this party staged the so-called "Beer Hall Putsch" in Munich. This proved abortive and Hitler was sentenced to five years' imprisonment; but he was soon released.

The National Socialist Party of Hitler came into power with a semi-military organization. Members of the party were enrolled in divisions, regiments, and battalions of Storm Troops, the outward purpose of which was to combat the

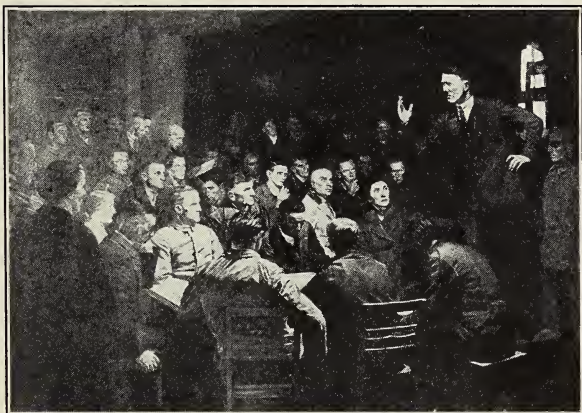
only 25 years old, and had lived ten years in Vienna, where her life is a complete mystery.

Adolf Hitler was born to this third wife on April 20, 1889. She had two other children, one of whom lived only a year; the other, a daughter, has since died.

Hitler's father, a customs inspector, retired on pension in 1896. He died over a bottle of wine in a public-house, of a sudden stroke. His mother later died of cancer after suffering for nearly ten years. Adolf loved his mother, who was ambitious for him. But he hated his father, who was overbearing and besotted with indulgence. The father considered Adolf a weakling and a dreamer. He called him "moon-struck," and beat him.

Communists. Also bodyguards accompanied and protected speakers and organizers. Hitler thus had a sort of private army. But since the "purge" this army has been largely subordinated to the regular army, in which every young man must spend two years.

At the head of the civilian set-up of the party was the Leader ("Der Führer"¹) with his Cabinet of seventeen members, each



START OF THE HITLER MOVEMENT IN MUNICH

Newsphotos

This is a painting by Otto Hoyer.

assuming responsibility for some phase of Nazi activity. There was a director of the press bureau, a propaganda director, a business manager, a youth leader, and others. The country was divided into districts with a district leader over each. Each district had "cell organizations," organized in factories, stores, schools, and among agricultural workers. Brown shirts with the swastika were everywhere.

Every member of the party paid dues. Contributions were made by others, including large industrialists who looked upon the movement as their chief reliance against the spread of Communism.

¹ Der Führer is pronounced dër fū'rër.

The Nazi Party — the only party permitted in Germany — was increased in membership to about 6,000,000 in 1937. Membership comes largely from subsidiary organizations, such as the youth organizations which mold the young into Nazi ideology. Each member must pay party dues, and will be expelled if he does not actively promote the party interests.

The party is organized into provincial groups, including the organization of Germans abroad, district groups, cells in factories or industries, and blocks. A block consists of between forty and sixty households and comprises not only members of the party but all men, women, and children. A block leader is the lowest representative of the party. He is assisted by block wardens, who are supposed to advise and help the people. The block leader and wardens must know every inhabitant within the block, and they must answer all questions put to them by the party representatives.

Promises of Hitler and the National Socialist Party. — The Nazis early submitted a platform commonly known as *The Twenty-Five Points*. Then in 1924 Hitler elaborated these points in his book entitled “*Mein Kampf*,”¹ which means *My Fight* or *My Struggle*. Among the promises made in this book are the following:

(1) A larger Germany, including Austria and other surrounding territory occupied by Germans, and German colonies. (Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Poland were seized in 1938–1939.)

(2) Abrogation of the Treaty of Versailles, especially the provisions which limited Germany to 36 war vessels, a navy of 15,000 men, and an army of 100,000. (In 1935 Hitler announced the abrogation of these armament limitations, and later occupied the Demilitarized Zone east of the Rhine.)

(3) Cancellation of World War reparations. (These have not been paid since the Hoover moratorium of 1931–1932.)

(4) Withdrawal from the League of Nations. (Announced October 19, 1933, and effective October 19, 1935.)

(5) Exclusion of Jews from government services, and largely from the professions and universities. (This was ruthlessly

¹ *Mein Kampf* is pronounced mīn kām̄f.

carried out and thousands fled the country, or were expelled, poverty-stricken, as they could not take their money with them.)

(6) Compulsory military service. (Established in 1935 in violation of the Versailles Treaty.)

(7) Seizure of Ukraine from Russia. (From 1938 to 1941 he gained control over border states to provide an easy passage almost to Ukraine, and in 1941 he invaded this country.)

(8) A leader popularly chosen but with absolute authority. (In 1935 88 per cent of the votes cast approved the Cabinet



Courtesy, New York Times

THE SOWER

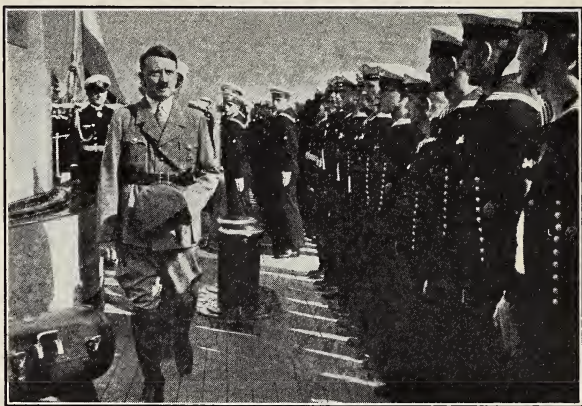
action which united the office of President with that of Chancellor, which Hitler already held.)

The socialistic policies of the National Socialists include :

- (1) The abolition of all income not earned by work.
- (2) Drafting every youth for a period of compulsory labor.
- (3) The socialization of incorporated industries.
- (4) Opposition to Marxian materialistic socialism.
- (5) Bitter opposition to communism, which is international.

Hitler's Rise to Power. — The economic depression and widespread discontent worked to Hitler's advantage. He was a magnetic speaker and a tireless organizer ; and at the election of

May 5, 1933, his party polled 17,000,000 votes and elected 288 members of the Reichstag. With this great plurality in the popular branch of the legislature he forced President von Hindenburg to appoint him Chancellor of Germany. Then, after von Hindenburg's death he held an election to vote him "Chancellor and President." But he prefers to be called Leader (Führer), which name came from his party leadership.



ADOLF HITLER REVIEWING THE MARINES

In 1934, when dissensions developed in his ranks, he crushed a threatened revolt against him which was led by Captain Roehm, Chief of Staff of the Storm Troops. He flew to Munich and himself arrested Roehm in his own house. Roehm, the head of the Berlin Brown Shirts, an ex-chancellor and his wife, two secretaries of a vice-chancellor, the head of the Catholic Action Society, and others were killed. When Hitler justified the "purge" before the Reichstag on July 13, he gave the number of the dead as 77. Several thousand men were tried by court martial and about 3000 others were imprisoned in a concentration camp until Hitler on August 9 decreed a general amnesty for all minor offenders.

Hitler's Ideal: A German Dominated World. — The Nazi belief in force, or militarism, became apparent early in Hitler's regime and was used to unify the entire German nation. He built extensive roads, but most of them were for strategic military purposes rather than for economic benefit. He organized an army and air force that at the outbreak of the war was superior to any other in number of men, equipment, and co-ordinated training.

The youth of Germany were organized into the Hitler Youth and taught to consider the state above all personal and family matters. These youth were trained for many military and labor purposes, and, believing in their cause, gave great aid to Hitler. Yet education was so restricted that only the most loyal could attend college, and even the courses taught were subject to the theories of the Nazi leaders.

Labor became compulsory in Germany, with most of the efforts going toward building up a powerful war machine with tanks, planes, and other equipment for overrunning Europe. Wages are low, and large portions are taken out for taxes and other governmental purposes. Hours are being maintained as long as possible to increase the striking power of Germany. Strikes are prohibited, and anyone attempting to sabotage or hinder the war program is subject to severe penalties, including death. Even women are conscripted for labor of all kinds.

The ideals of Naziism have developed from a mild form of nationalism to the belief that the Germans are a *Herrenvolk* (master race); and because of this assumed superiority, they believe themselves to be better fitted to rule the world than any other race. Jews are the most despised race to the German Nazi, and have been subjected to untold hardships, starvation, and death. The Poles, too, have suffered "extermination campaigns."

The nations that have been overrun by Hitler's forces have felt the enslaving power of the Nazi ideology. Food has been requisitioned; even blankets have been taken from Norway. In some instances, puppet governments have been established which are subject to the military domination of Germany.

Rather than face national suicide with accompanying loss of life and property, several of the European nations have given in to the economic demands of Hitler, and although still having a semblance of independent government, must accede to German demands at all times to avoid aggression. This, too, is slavery.

Even though Hitler had announced that he had no intentions of invading the Western Hemisphere, he declared war against the United States on December 11, 1941. He had sought the



Philco Corporation

OUT ON A LONG, LONG LIMB

loyalty of all German descendants in the Americas through German cultural organizations; he had tried to organize Nazi parties; and he had promoted "fifth columns." Moreover, he usually signs non-aggression pacts before pouncing upon his victims.

POPULATION POLICY

Declining Birthrate. — In 1901 over 2,000,000 babies were born in Germany, but in 1933 the number of births was less than 1,000,000. This number was scarcely enough to per-

petuate the population at its existing figures. Considering the limited resources of Germany, many people think the population should be allowed to decline; but Hitler wants more young Germans for soldiers and more Germans of all ages to people the earth before it is filled with other races, which he considers inferior to the Teutonic.

The most serious phase of the deficiency of births is that it was specially prevalent among the soundest elements of the population. The birthrate had not declined with families of inferior stock. The birthrate in families where one or both parents were convicted criminals was 4.9 per family; in families with mentally backward children, 3.5; in normal families, 2.2; and among the upper classes only 1.9.

Plans for Increasing the Birthrate. — *Promotion of Marriage by Loans (Law of 1933).* — Under this law a young couple wishing to marry may receive a loan of 1000 marks from the municipality if their examinations prove that they are physically and mentally suitable for marriage. No interest is charged and the principal is repaid at the rate of 1 per cent a month; but a quarter of the initial loan is canceled with the birth of each child. The loans are made in coupons which must be spent for household goods.

Marriage Grants. — Repayments coming in from the marriage loans have been used as contributions to large families. For instance, a family whose income does not exceed 185 marks a month receives 10 marks per month for the fifth child and every further child under 16 years of age.

Regressive Income Taxes. — According to the schedule laid down for taxes on salaries the following distinctions are made between the unmarried, the married, and the fathers of families :

	TAX ON WAGES
Unmarried worker	16%
Married man without children	10%
Married man with one child	8%
Married man with two children	6%
Married man with three children	3%
Married man with more than three children	1%

Furthermore, in the inheritance, property, and municipal taxes exemptions have been made in favor of the family man.

Higher Pay for Civil Servants with Families. — Those who have passed their final examination and taken a definite place in the civil service receive the highest rate of salary in their respective grades as soon as they marry, not having to wait for the yearly advance.

Cities Sponsorship Plan. — Some cities assist parents. For instance, Berlin pays an honorary sponsorship grant for the third and fourth children. Thirty marks per month are paid during the first year of each child's life and subsequently 20 marks per month until the child has completed his or her fourteenth year.

Sterilization Used to Combat Degeneracy of the Race. — In Germany sterilization is used to prevent the procreation of morons, criminally inclined, and persons with inheritable diseases. Sterilization is prohibited for normal persons, permissible among those of the border class, and compulsory for certain classes that have been committed to institutions. In general there are adequate safeguards against arbitrary action by the authorities.

REGIMENTING THE YOUTH

Captured Young. — "You were born to die for Germany" appeared on signs over certain Hitler Youth camps. The German totalitarian state learned from Lenin the trick of catching them young, and telling them nothing that conflicts in any way with party ideology.

Hitler Youth. — In 1935 training in Hitler Youth was made a prerequisite for appointment to posts in the public service, including local governments, schools, railways, banks, and broadcasting. In 1936, when the Catholic youth organizations refused to join the Hitler Youth, a decree of December 1 read: "All German youth . . . are to be trained, bodily, mentally, spiritually, and morally in the spirit of national socialism for service to the nation and to the unified people." Membership in the Hitler Youth was finally made compulsory in Germany in 1939.

The organization includes the following groups :

German Young Boys: 10-14 German Young Girls: 10-14
Hitler Youth (proper): 14-18 German Girls' Union: 14-21

The most important of the departments of the organization is the Department of Social Work, which deals with welfare relief for Hitler Youth members, youth legislation, juvenile labor legislation, the work of young people in rural districts, vocational guidance, and vocational retraining of youths. Other departments include the health department, the department of physical



HITLER ENCOURAGES YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS

training, the department of culture, the department of social-political training, the radio department, the press and propaganda department, the department for hiking, and the department for international contact.

Labor Service and Army Service. — Every boy (and every girl that wants to pursue higher education) must spend from six months to one year in the Labor Service. The boys do such work as draining swamps, reclaiming land from the sea, clearing for new roads, or working on farms. From the Labor Service the boy goes to two years in the regular army (*Wehrmacht*¹).

¹ Wehrmacht is pronounced vār'mäkt.

The women's Labor Service has established camps for girls who are required to labor at least six months before entering a university and for other girls wishing to go to camp. Each camp accommodates from 25 to 50 girls. A part of each day is devoted to work. Some aid nearby housewives with their duties around the house and garden, taking care of the children, and assisting in case of sickness. Some by such actual practice learn to grow vegetables, to run a dairy, or to raise chickens. After working hours the girls engage in sports, gymnastics, handicrafts, and hiking. Evenings considerable time is devoted to courses in the basic principles of National Socialism and the woman's rôle in the new state.

In 1939 it was decreed that all unemployed girls between 18 and 25 years of age must be employed one year as above described before they may be employed in the civil service.

Education. — From the army a German boy might pursue higher education if he is one of the faithful and the chosen few. Germany limits the number of secondary school graduates to be admitted to the universities. Such admission is dependent not on scholarship alone, but upon a good record of political activity in the Hitler Youth organization, upon good service in the labor camps, and upon a recommendation by the district Nazi leader. In this totalitarian state, education always includes propaganda, and its end includes regimentation of the mind and body.

RESTRICTIONS OF LIBERTY UNDER THE NAZI GOVERNMENT

The Theory of Totalitarianism is that the individual does not and cannot know what is good for him and must be guided by those who know what is best for the state and the individual.

The Nazis claim that government by discussion and majorities is a sham and a delusion which does not in fact guarantee equality of opportunity. They claim that a democracy emphasizes rights more than duties of the individual, and that under democracy the state exists merely to carry out the selfish interests of individuals, groups, or parties.

Absence of Free Speech, Press, and Radio. — The anti-Hitler press of Germany was forced to discontinue its activities.

Germans read nothing of internal impending catastrophes. They read only of the bad things that are happening to their enemies; how Russians are "starving"; how Red Bolshevism made shambles of Madrid; and of sit-down strikes in the United States. If foreign radio stations eulogize communism or condemn naziism, that wave length is blurred from reception by any radio in Germany.

Thought Control. — Under the totalitarian state the rank and file of people are spoon-fed. In Germany this is the duty of the Minister of the People's Enlightenment and Propaganda — a position now held by Dr. Joseph Goebbels.¹ This highly educated writer was unable to find remunerative work when in 1922 he became attached to the Hitler movement. Now the jobs of all newspaper men, radio men, film men, lecturers,



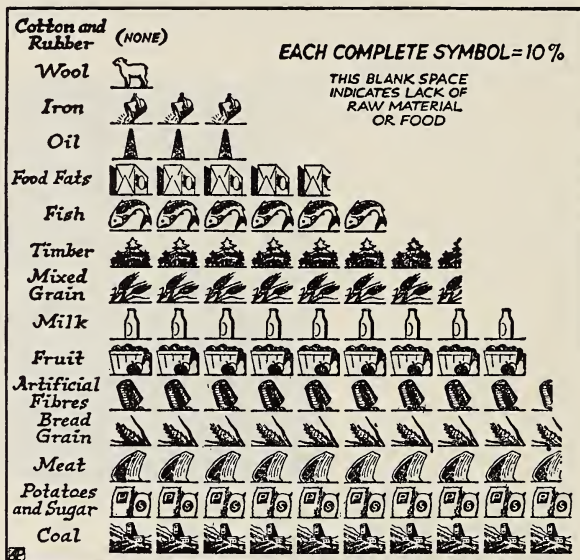
JOSEPH GOEBBELS

and the like are dependent upon him. He determines what the people shall hear, see, and read, or what shall be denied them. For instance, at designated times he can require all Germans to listen to Nazi speeches. If he wants the employees of a certain industry to be informed regarding the government policy, he requires them to collect around receiving sets. As an example, he required employees of night restaurants so to assemble at 2:00 in the morning to hear the government position regarding labor grievances.

Restrictions on Foreign Trade. — Because of war reparations, of debts created by German corporations after the War, and of Germany's need of raw materials from abroad, the balance of

¹ Goebbels is pronounced gŭ'bĕls.

trade became enormously unfavorable for Germany. Therefore Germany is endeavoring to produce synthetic and other substitutes, is imposing high tariff on imports, and is restricting the exports of money from the country.



Courtesy Foreign Policy Association

GERMANY'S SELF-SUFFICIENCY PROBLEM IN 1938

Restrictions on the Time of the Youth. — Every young man must serve from six months to a year in Labor Service, and then two years in the army, before entering upon higher education. Young women must serve at least six months in Labor Service as a prerequisite to higher education. Also the number allowed to enter the universities is limited.

Restrictions on Religion. — Because Christ was a Jew, because the Catholics are an international organization, and because the Lutheran clergy were not willing to goose-step under the Hitler régime, an effort has been made to set up a German

religion harking back to the old Nordic gods. The truth is that Hitler wants to mold all Germans in the molds of nazism. A national religion would greatly facilitate a dictatorial rule; but departure from a universal God to national gods seems to be turning the hands of history back.

Restrictions on Local Autonomy. — The Third Reich is a unitary state instead of a federation, as it formerly was. The former states are now subject to the central Cabinet appointed by Hitler, the Leader.

Strikes Forbidden. — Big business in Germany is grateful to Hitler for wiping out the free trade unions; and for making strikes illegal. The government may say where and when one may work, and for how much. The idle rich and especially Jews may be assigned where needed. Unemployment has about disappeared in Germany, and since the beginning of World War II there has been a scarcity of labor. On the farms in summer extra laborers are needed, and urban dwellers may be required to fill this need.

Restrictions on Business. — Each authority can step in and tell the businessman how to run his business. The Labor Front (of the National Economic Council) fixes hours; special boards decide how much imported raw material may be mixed with native stuffs; the Fashion Office controls the styles of the ready-to-wear clothing industry; a manufacturer is not allowed to shut down if his business is declared necessary; and you must get the government's permission to start a new business.

Restrictions on Property. — The average German farm is too small for efficient operation by machinery. Therefore it is decreed that no small holder who is an Aryan and "capable" shall sell his farm, mortgage it, or divide it up among heirs. Only the eldest son is permitted to inherit the farm.

Anti-Semitism. — The Jews are accused of all of Germany's troubles: of having profiteered during the World War; of having taken advantage of the depreciated mark to buy property or pay off debts at the end of the World War; of having promoted socialism and radicalism under the republic; of having obtained government positions and university professorships;

of having replaced Germans in the legal and medical professions ; and of having produced immoral moving pictures and stage productions. One of the leading German papers daily worked up sentiment against the Jews by stories and pictures of horrible things done by individual Jews — true or false — but always as though the segregated incident were typical of the race.

With the advent of Hitler the mistreatment of the Jews became planned and systematic. They were removed from government jobs, as professors in universities, as students in universities ; were forbidden to practice certain professions ; were excluded from certain businesses ; were excluded from many places ; their insurance was taken by the Reich if they were killed by mobs ; their homes were often entered ; many synagogues were burnt ; they were imprisoned in concentration camps by the thousands ; they were treated like dogs in the country and were not allowed to leave the country with any appreciable part of their money. For the murder of a German in Paris by a seventeen-year-old Jewish refugee the Jews in Germany were fined \$400,000,000. The *New York Times* (November 11, 1938) graphically describes this murder in the following account :

“A Polish Jew, a boy of 17, receives a postcard from his parents telling him that they have been dumped on the Polish frontier, victims of the sudden mass deportation order by the German authorities to express protest against a ruling of the Polish Government and displeasure against the attitude of Poland in opposing German wishes on the Ruthenian question. The parents cannot go back to Germany ; they have nowhere to go in Poland. The boy is himself a refugee, hiding with relatives because he has no permit to live in France. At 17 he has no permit to live anywhere. Half-crazed by the despair of his parents and his own sufferings, he goes to the German Embassy, determined to shoot the first representative of the German Government he meets. The victim happens to be the Third Secretary. Unfortunately he dies of his wounds, and the assailant is taken to a Paris prison, where he is now awaiting trial.”

GOVERNMENTAL CHANGES FROM REPUBLIC TO DICTATORSHIP

The Reich was a close federation of states (*Länder*) under the republic. *Under the Nazi régime it is strongly centralized. In*

1934 the Reichstag and Reichsrat unanimously voted the transfer of the sovereign rights of the states to the central government (Reich).

The constitution could be amended by a two-thirds vote of both houses of Parliament or an amendment could be initiated by petitions and approved by a majority of registered voters. Under the present Nazi régime Hitler can change the constitution by his Cabinet whom he appoints.

The President was elected by popular vote, for a term of seven years, by a majority of the voters. He had more power than the President of France but less than the President of the United States. The active chief executive was the Chancellor (Prime Minister). Under the present Nazi régime the Presidency is practically abolished. Herr Hitler, as Der Fuehrer, acts as both President and Chancellor.

The Cabinet was named by the President upon the recommendation of the Chancellor and was responsible to the legislative branch. Under Hitler the Cabinet has all the legislative powers formerly enjoyed by the Reichstag and the Reichsrat. As he appoints and dismisses Cabinet members it is naturally subservient to him.

The Reichstag was the lower house, which was elected by manhood and womanhood suffrage for a term of four years, unless sooner dissolved. In 1933 the powers of the Reichstag were turned over to Hitler and his Cabinet. Now the Reichstag is a body of about 800 members nominated by the Nazi Party, and voters may say "yes" or "no" in the election of the whole list. For assembling a few hours a year to hear Hitler speak and to vote "yes" for his requests, each member receives \$2880.

The Reichsrat was the upper house. It represented the federal principle and each state had one vote for every million inhabitants. As the Nazis have adopted a unitary system the Reichsrat was abolished by Hitler's Cabinet in 1934.

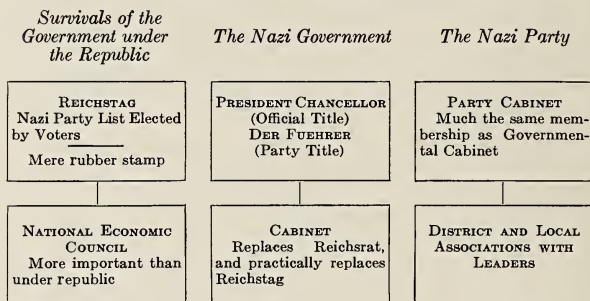
The National Economic Council was the center of a system of local, regional, and national councils which were to act in an advisory capacity on economic legislation submitted for report; and the national council could also submit legislation. Representatives of workers, employers, consumers, civil servants, and

agents of the government constituted this national council. Under the republic the organization was never perfected. *Under the Nazi rule this National Economic Council has become quite powerful. Its reduced membership is exclusively Nazi. It is developing somewhat like Mussolini's corporate system.*

The Courts under the republic were federal and state, somewhat as in the United States. Under the Nazi régime the courts have been merged into a unified system. Special Revolutionary Tribunals, for political offenses, and Labor Courts, for labor disputes, have been created.

The Nazi Party Cabinet is constituted with much the same persons that compose the governmental Cabinet. It is much like the Fascist Grand Council of Italy.

THE GOVERNMENT OF GERMANY



FOREIGN POLICIES

The Racial State Idea. — Adolf Hitler was so obsessed with the Germanic superiority idea that he had it taught to all school children. In some schools it was so impressed upon the youngsters that some children who did not have true German characteristics felt disgraced and committed suicide.

Propaganda is carried on among Germans living in foreign lands with the idea of holding their loyalty to the Fatherland. "Once a German always a German" is Hitler's idea. Naturally

foreign countries resent this propaganda. For instance, the United States of America has prided itself in being the melting pot for peoples of all European countries. When they migrate to the United States we want them to be loyal Americans. According to international law, each country has jurisdiction over people residing within its boundary; and if the loyalty of a part of its people is aroused for the government of another country, there is naturally trouble.



GERMAN OF THE ITALIAN TYROL POINTING TO THE FATHERLAND

As a result of the World War the Trentin Venetia was acquired by Italy from Austria. It includes over 200,000 Germans who live in the valleys south of the Brenner Pass in the Tyrolean Alps. They are dissatisfied with Italian rule. In 1938 Hitler promised Mussolini not to disturb this Italian block of Germans, but in 1939 he assisted many back to German soil.

In 1938 there were about 30 German-American Bund camps in the United States where Nazi sympathizers assembled and drilled. Bundesfuehrer Fritz Kuhn claimed that members of his organization were loyal Americans protecting the United States from communism. (In 1939 he was imprisoned for misuse of funds of the Bund.)

The German Foreign Institute at Stuttgart is endeavoring to

compile a list of all Germans who have migrated during the past two centuries, with the idea of getting in touch with them or their descendants to increase their German cultural bond.

Hitler's Fanatical Drive for World Domination. — As an impressionable boy Hitler came into contact with the teachings of a strong German nationalism, an anti-Slavic attitude, and the glowing spirit of militarism. These impressions were intensified at school, at the opera, and by the books that he read. In



GERMAN TANKS ON PARADE AT BERLIN

Germany spent nearly a decade deliberately preparing for war.

Mein Kampf he says of himself that at an early age "I had become a fanatical German Nationalist . . . and a young revolutionist."

Hitler's unfortunate childhood, with a domineering and cruel father, plus deprivation when thrown upon his own as a young man, developed in him a bitter and ruthless selfishness. This he is now using as the cunning, inspiring leader of a gang of plunderers and murderers on a world-wide scale.

Disregarding treaties and agreements Hitler militarized Germany; conspired for the annexation of Austria and Sudeten-

land; and seized the remainder of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium, and France. He set up a puppet government in Rumania; made vassal states of Hungary and Bulgaria; overran Yugoslavia, Greece, and western Russia; and he waged a continuous air, naval, and desert war with Great Britain and its allies.

In December, 1941, Hitler, through his alliance with Japan and Italy, brought about an out-and-out war with the United States. This action meant war with virtually all free nations who are fighting for liberty against totalitarian dictators. It is war between the Axis who worship force and the ABCD powers who stand for law and order.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Why did the German republic fail?
2. Describe the childhood of Hitler. His personal habits.
3. Tell of the origin of the National Socialist Party.
4. Explain the organization of this party.
5. What did Hitler promise? What items of his promise has he fulfilled?
6. Explain how Hitler became Chancellor and President.
7. Explain how Hitler put down opposition.
8. What is Hitler's Ideal?
9. In regimenting youth, how did Hitler capture them? How are they organized? Tell of their labor service and army service. Of their educational restrictions.
10. What is the theory of totalitarianism?
11. Explain how Germany's birthrate was declining among certain classes.
12. Explain how Germany has increased its birthrate: By marriage loans. By marriage grants. By regressive income taxes. By higher pay for civil servants. By city sponsorship. By sterilization.
13. Explain restrictions on liberty: Speech, press, and radio thought. Anti-Semitism. Foreign trade. Time of youth. Religion. Strikes. Business. Property.
14. Hitler's Third Reich Government: How the constitution can be changed. President and Chancellor. Cabinet. Reichstag. National Economic Council. Courts.
15. Explain Hitler's mistreatment of Jews.
16. Explain Hitler's Racial State idea.
17. Tell of the German-American Bund camps in America.

18. Tell of Hitler's militaristic preparation; and the philosophy of force that he teaches.

PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Adolf Hitler permits only one political party in Germany — his National Socialist Party. Do you think, in the long run, a country is better off with one, two, or a number of political parties?

2. On September 1, 1939, Hitler designated Goering as his successor. Would he be better, worse, or the same as Hitler?

3. When the German army was limited by the Versailles Treaty, the Allies claimed that it would make it possible for them to reduce their armaments. They failed to do so. Did this justify Germany in rearming?

4. Eastern Jews who came to Germany are accused of profiteering, association with communists, and creating desolating disorder in the press, films, and public opinion under the protection of social democracy. Extremists of a German anti-Semitic party once insisted that Germany would never be a healthy state until she had purged herself of Jews, Socialists, and Catholics. To this one replied: "This is much the same as if a doctor should advise his patient to part with his brain, muscular tissue, and heart." Discuss this analogy.

5. In what respects are the population problems of the United States similar to those of Germany? What remedies would you suggest for the solution of our population problems?

6. What phases of Germany's regimentation of youth do you like or dislike?

7. Germany claims that it needs expansion because it is underfed. Is it more likely to bring relief to its population by the European war or by allowing its population to decline in proportion to resources? Switzerland and the Scandinavian countries also lack many natural resources, yet the people are content. Until forced to protect themselves against the "steel and iron" policy of Hitler these countries spent very little for armament.

8. Will relief come to the masses of Europe by military competition where each civilian has a soldier to support, or by international organization and co-operation?

9. Do you agree with Hitler's Nazi program? If you disagree, is it with his domestic or foreign policies? Racial persecution? Religious persecution?

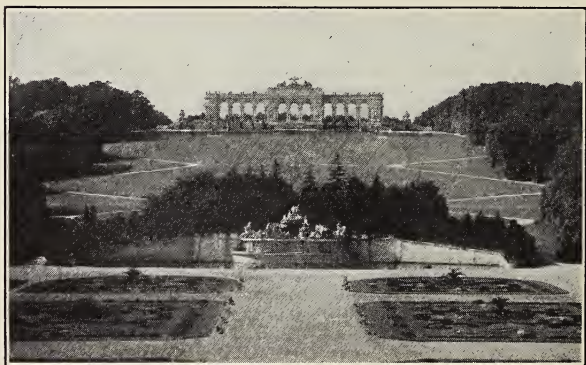
10. Hitler has established a working day varying from nine to thirteen hours. The International Labor Organization promoted a 40-hour week. What effect did the nine-hour day in Germany have upon the 40-hour week in France? In the United States? Should there be a uniform working day in all countries?

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EMPRESS MARIA THERESA IN HER FAMILY CIRCLE



SCHÖNBRUNN PALACE GROUNDS

This is a view of the summer palace grounds of the Hapsburgs from the summer palace at Vienna.

CHAPTER XIX

CENTRAL EUROPE DOMINATED BY HITLER AND MUSSOLINI

AUSTRIA

The Old Austria. — The word “Austria” (*Oesterreich*) means “the eastern empire.” It was so called because it was the eastern outpost of western civilization that acted as a buffer against the invading Slavs, later the Magyars, and finally the Turks, who on two occasions attacked the walls of Vienna.

Until the World War the Austrian Empire consisted of seventeen provinces. The Emperor of Austria was king of three of these provinces (Bohemia, Galicia and Lodomeria, and Dalmatia) and the other fourteen were duchies and archduchies.

The Austrian Empire contained peoples of many tongues besides the Germans who dominated. These were the Ruthenians, Poles, Slovaks, Czechs (Bohemians and Moravians), Italians, Slovenians,¹ Croatsians,² Herzegovinians,³ Bosnians,⁴ and Dalmatians, who spoke either distinct languages or dialects. These various races were oppressed by the Germans who dominated the government at Vienna, and when the War came many complete regiments deserted to the enemy.

The Recent Austria. — When the Austro-Hungarian Empire fell apart in 1918, Emperor Charles took refuge in Switzerland, and a republic was formed out of that portion of old Austria occupied by the German-speaking element. The treaty of peace reduced Austria's territory from 116,000 square miles to 32,377 square miles, and its population from 28,500,000 to

¹ Slovenians is pronounced slō vē'nī āns.

² Croatsians is pronounced krō ā'shāns.

³ Herzegovinians is pronounced hēr'tsé gō vīn'ī āns.

⁴ Bosnians is pronounced bōz'nī āns.

6,760,233, of whom nearly 2,000,000 live in the city of Vienna. There was great grief in Vienna after the War because it was deprived of its richest provinces and its chief industry — that of governing a populous empire.

Political Groups. — Rural Austria was strongly conservative; but Vienna and several smaller cities were radical. For this reason the country chose a federal system of government at the end of the World War, and the city of Vienna was made a separate state. There the socialists governed until overthrown in 1934.

Vienna's socialists tried many interesting experiments in education, in improved sanitary conditions, and built modern apartments for the working class. After the War the money depreciated until it became valueless. All who had money in banks found their deposits wiped out, and those who had invested in mortgages had their mortgages paid off in worthless money. Many of the owners of apartment houses in Vienna thus cleared their property from debt with depreciated money.

The socialist government of Vienna, having little sympathy for large property owners, increased property taxes and lowered rents. Apartments had not been built during the War period, and with high taxes and low rents none were being built. Therefore, the Socialist Government proceeded to build sixty-odd thousand apartments to rent to those most in need of a decent place to live. The money with which these apartment houses were built was raised through taxation; therefore no debt was created and the rental was based on just enough to keep the new property in repair — \$1.00 to \$5.00 a month for a new modern apartment!

The Austrian fascists of the Nazi brand, who in 1938 annexed Austria to Germany, opposed the socialists because the latter were internationalists, pacifists, and included many Jews. The Christian socialists, strongly Catholic, were for an independent Austria, and opposed the socialists because the latter were anti-capitalistic and anti-clerical. They were led by Chancellor Dollfuss¹ until his assassination in 1934, and then by Chancellor

¹ Dollfuss is pronounced döll'fōōs.

Schuschnigg.¹ In May, 1936, Chancellor Schuschnigg suddenly reorganized the government, and declared himself dictator of Austria.

The Treaty of Versailles provided that Austria must remain an independent state unless the Council of the League of Nations gave its consent to annexation. France opposed the union of Austria and Germany because six and a half million Austrians



CITY HALL OF VIENNA

Here the socialists governed Vienna between the World War and 1934.

added to Germany would make France numerically more inferior to Germany; and Czechoslovakia did not want to be caught in a pair of German pincers.

Union of Austria with Germany. — Following the World War many Austrians favored union with Germany; but others remembered the humiliation of 1866, when Prussia had invaded and defeated Austria; and during the World War German domination had wounded Austrian pride. Moreover, the Versailles Treaty forbade union without the consent of the Council of the League of Nations. Therefore Austria turned hopefully to its enemies of yesterday, to France and England,

¹ Schuschnigg is pronounced shōōsh'nīg.

for friendly assistance; and loans from these countries kept Austria alive.

Economic Pressure during the Depression of the Thirties Caused Austria to See the Hopelessness of Its Situation. The richest portions of Austria had been lost by the World War; and what remained became surrounded by high tariff walls which crippled her commerce. Foreign loans and a limited tourist trade could not keep her alive. Thus a discouraged people became fertile soil for Nazi propaganda.

Hitler Prepared the Way. In 1936 Hitler had Dr. Arthur Seyss-Inquart¹ appointed "conciliator" between the Fatherland Front followers of Austria and the Austrian Nazis. He was a conservative Austrian Catholic who had strong Nazi leanings. Dr. Seyss-Inquart was named Minister of the Interior, with direction of the police and security services on February 16, 1938, by Chancellor Kurt Schuschnigg as a concession to Germany. Previously Chancellor Schuschnigg had held these services in his own hands.

Both President Miklas and Dr. Schuschnigg realized what handing over control of the police to a friend of the Nazis would mean. They appealed to Mussolini, to France, and to England for help; but none came; and Hitler insisted that Seyss-Inquart was the one man in whom he had confidence. On March 9th Schuschnigg called on all Austrians over 24 years old to go to the polls the following Sunday and vote "for a free, independent and social, for a Christian and united Austria." As the youth had come under Nazi influence the voting age was placed higher than in other elections.

Hitler Seized the Opportunity. To Hitler this call for a plebiscite was an open provocation. He objected to the 24-year age provision and to there being no provision for a secret ballot. Schuschnigg agreed to abandon the plebiscite. On March 11th Hitler demanded that Schuschnigg resign under threat of invasion. He had to comply. Seyss-Inquart headed a new government of Nazis and Pan-Germans. Immediately he invited German troops into Austria to assist in the "restoration and

¹ Seyss-Inquart is pronounced siss-in'quart.

maintenance of law and order." Early on March 12 50,000 German troops entered the country under the leadership of Hitler.

On March 13 Austria was declared a "state of the Reich," and a "free and secret plebiscite" to ratify the decision was ordered for April 10. Chancellor Schuschnigg was arrested along with others known to be hostile to the union, and still is believed to be a political prisoner. On March 14 Adolf Hitler entered Vienna triumphantly. That night 53 rooms were reserved for him at the Hotel Weisler. It was a secret which of the 53 he would occupy.

Goebbels was placed in charge of propaganda for the announced plebiscite; each German soldier entering Vienna was given 100 marks (\$40) extra spending money to impress the Austrians; German capital was promised for industries; and the Austrians voted for union, as expected, on April 10, 1938.



© Knozer

EX-CHANCELLOR KURT
SCHUSCHNIGG

HUNGARY

The Old Hungary. — Hungary is inhabited by the Magyars (mōd'yör) of Mongolian origin. At the end of the ninth century they wedged in between the northern Slavs, who are Czechs and Slovaks, and the southern Slavs, who live in Yugoslavia. The Magyars have retained their Oriental monosyllabic language, but have taken the physical appearance and the religion of their Caucasian neighbors. Fifty-two per cent of the eight million inhabitants are Roman Catholics, 27 per cent are of the Greek churches, 19 per cent are Protestants, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent are Jews, against whom there is great hostility.

In 1527, after the Hungarians had suffered an overwhelming

defeat by the Turks, a Hapsburg prince, who afterwards became Emperor Ferdinand I of Austria, was elected King by the Hungarian Diet. From that time until the World War the country was more or less dependent upon Austria. In 1849 the Diet at Budapest declared Hungary independent and placed Louis Kossuth¹ at its head. But the same sort of nationalistic feeling that inspired the Magyars to assert their rights against Austria inspired the Serbs, the Croats, and the Rumanians to assert their rights against Hungary; therefore Austria was able to reconquer Hungary. Austria governed it in an oppressive manner, and when Germany invaded Austria in 1866 Hungary took advantage of the situation and demanded self-government. The result was a union through the person of the Emperor-King.²

Hungary, like Austria, oppressed the minority races within her borders — Slovaks, Rumanians, and southern Slavs. For instance, in the more popular house of her Parliament 413 of the 453 deputies were Magyars though only 45 per cent of the population was then Magyar. This unfair representation was attained by unfair apportionment, gerrymandering, political intimidation, etc.

The Short-Lived Republic. — November 16, 1918 — five days after the Armistice was signed on the western front — Count Karolyi³ established the Hungarian People's Republic. But this liberal move did not save Hungary. Rumania seized

¹ Kossuth is pronounced kōsh'ōōt or kō sōōth'.

² From 1867 until the end of the World War the Austro-Hungarian dual monarchy consisted of the Austrian Empire and the Hungarian Kingdom, the Emperor of Austria being King of Hungary. This joint government rested upon the compromise of 1867. In most respects the governments were separate, but for the administrative departments of war, foreign relations, and finance there were ministers who acted for Austria-Hungary jointly. Hungary had a "Minister near the King's person" who took part in all affairs in which Hungary needed to be safeguarded. Legislation pertaining to the joint affairs of the states was exercised by two delegations, one chosen by each of the two parliaments. All members were chosen annually and were called together at least once a year by the Emperor-King. The delegations sat separately. The Austrian proceedings were carried on in the German language and the Hungarian in Magyar. If the two bodies could not agree, they met in joint session and voted without debate.

³ Karolyi is pronounced kā'rōl yē.

the portion of Hungary which contained Rumanians and some more too, Yugoslavia seized the portion that contained southern Slavs and some more too, and Czechoslovakia seized the portion containing Slovaks and some more too. The treaty of peace recognized these seizures, and Hungary was reduced from 125,000 to 35,000 square miles, and from 20,000,000 to 8,000,000 population. Moreover, she lost minerals, timber, and water power, and remains primarily an agricultural plain.

The then wealthy, aristocratic Count Karolyi championed the cause of the people and urged land reform for the oppressed peasants. But the landlords considered him a traitor, the middle class felt that the great loss of territory reflected upon him as a leader, and the radicals of every color that gathered around him soon took matters into their own hands.

The Short-Lived Communistic Régime. — At this juncture Bela Kun,¹ a former Hungarian news reporter of the Jewish race, reappeared in Hungary under an assumed name. He had been made a Russian prisoner, and, under the influence of Lenin, had become a flaming Bolshevik. He wrote such extreme statements as, "It is not sufficient to kill the bourgeois,² they have to be cut to pieces," which temporarily landed him in jail. But the Russian rubles in shrewder hands completed the revolution and Bela Kun was released. He became head of the Bolshevistic Red Terror after Count Karolyi was forced out, and on March 22, 1919, the Soviet Government proclaimed the dictatorship of the proletariat. After the Bolsheviks disposed of the money and goods which they had confiscated they issued paper money, and woe to the peasants who would not sell their farm products for this worthless money! But the Bolsheviks went too far, and with the assistance of a Rumanian army Admiral Nicholas von Horthy³ was able to set up a conservative government on August 7, 1919.

The Kingless Kingdom. — In 1920 a new Parliament was elected. This Parliament considered the period of the revolu-

¹ Bela Kun is pronounced bāla kōōn.

² Bourgeois is pronounced bōōr zhvä'.

³ Von Horthy is pronounced fōn hōr'tē.

tions of 1918 and 1919 as a blank space of time legally, and continued the old monarchical constitution. Admiral Horthy was elected Regent. Charles, the former King of Hungary, twice came to Hungary from his exile in Switzerland, and after the second attempt to regain the kingdom he was confined to the island of Madeira, where he died. Horthy continues Regent awaiting the time when other governments¹ will not interfere and the Hungarians themselves can agree upon a dynasty, unless the country is absorbed by Germany.



ADMIRAL HORTHY AND HIS WIFE ATTEND A STATE FUNERAL

The overthrow of the Bolsheviki required strong measures and many acts of revenge were perpetrated, which have been called the "White Terror." As eighteen out of the twenty-four executives of the Bolsheviki régime happened to be Jews, the Horthy régime became anti-Semitic, and because it is easy to capitalize a race issue, many innocent Jews have suffered.

The Horthy régime established order, and with the assistance of the League of Nations the currency and credit were

¹ The Little Entente, consisting of Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Yugoslavia, prevented Hungary from regaining the territory lost to it, until aided by Germany in the present war.

stabilized. Capital is now protected, and a visitor may enjoy the flamboyant beauty of the wealthy quarters of Budapest. The Magyar magnates live in luxury and retain a feudalistic spirit. Regent Horthy keeps house in the Budapest royal palace, formerly one of the numerous Hapsburg palaces. Hungary was the closest example of the old monarchistic régime in Europe until Mussolini and Hitler appeared.

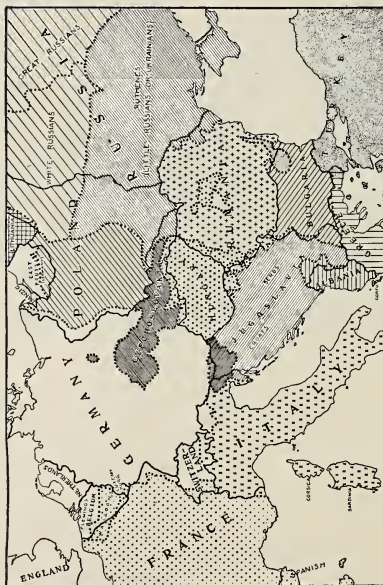
From the standpoint of the liberals there are many grievances under the Horthy régime. For instance, the press is muzzled and the government holds public opinion in the hollow of its hand. It is even an offense for an Hungarian residing abroad to say or write anything which might damage the name of Hungary.

Hungary's shortcoming is an acute form of what every organization experiences — the difficulty of keeping the ship of state in the straight channel away from the crags of ignorant idealism and those of premeditated selfishness.

Form of Government. — The Parliament of Hungary consists of two houses. The Lower House is popularly elected, but in most districts by an open election where the police and local magnates can see how the peasants vote. The Upper House consists of a number of appointive life members, representatives of the former hereditary members chosen by them, representatives of commercial, scientific, and religious institutions, and elective members.

Instead of the King there is Regent Horthy. Until his voluntary resignation in 1931, Count Stephen Bethlen co-operated with the Regent as Prime Minister for ten years, and these two strong characters conducted the government as a sort of constitutional dictatorship. The Regency continues because the political parties cannot agree upon a King.

Recent Relations with Germany and Czechoslovakia. — In 1938, when Hitler took Sudetenland from Czechoslovakia, he obtained the co-operation of Hungary by assisting her in obtaining the southern border of Czechoslovakia which was occupied by Hungarians. This was a beginning of a co-operation between Germany and Hungary, which in 1939 became so close that



1. Teutonic
 - { German
 - { Dutch
 - { Flemish
 - { Scandinavian
 2. Latin
 - { French, Walloons & Spanish
 - { Italian
 - { Rumanian
 3. Slavonic
 - a. Northern Slavs
 - { Russians
 - { Poles
 - { Ruthenes
 - { Czechs & Slovaks
 - b. Southern Slavs
 - { Slovenes
 - { Croats & Serbs
 - { Bulgars
 4. Letts & Lithuanians
 5. Ural-Altaic stock
 - { Turks
 - { Magyars
 6. Greeks
 7. Albanians
- National Boundaries ——— Racial Boundaries - - - - -

RACIAL MAP OF EUROPE SUPERIMPOSED UPON THE POLITICAL MAP AS IT EXISTED BETWEEN WORLD WAR I AND WORLD WAR II

The above map presents the broad outlines of racial distribution in central and eastern Europe. When the boundaries of Europe were remade at the end of the World War, it was hoped that the political boundaries would coincide with the racial boundaries; but selfishness pushed many boundaries too far in the opposite direction, which merely created new dissatisfied minority groups on the opposite side of the lines. Because of intermarriage and overlapping of races, the best authorities do not agree in detail as to just where the racial boundaries should run.

Russia severed diplomatic relations with Hungary, and Hungary was allowed to seize another portion of Slovakia and all of Ruthenia.

With the onset of World War II Hungary cemented her relations with Hitler, a step apparently necessary to avoid German occupation, and Great Britain declared war against her.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Formation. — The World War brought into existence the new state of Czechoslovakia.¹ The country was a peninsula of Slavdom thrust westward into the heart of Europe. It was almost cut in two by Germans of lower Austria pressing in from the south, and Germans of Prussia pressing down from the north. It comprised Bohemia and Moravia, former provinces of Austria; Slovakia, a former province of Hungary; and Ruthenia,² which is inhabited by Ruthenians. The area of the country was 38,000 square miles (after losing 11,500 in 1938) and its population was 10,500,000 (after losing 3,500,000 in 1938).

Because of oppression, entire Bohemian regiments deserted Austria during the World War by surrendering to Russia, where they were organized to fight against Austria. As soon as an opportunity presented itself (October 28, 1918) the Czechs and Slovaks declared themselves independent of Austria and Hungary. Recognition and credits were extended them by the Allies, and Thomas G. Masaryk³ became the first President of the Czechoslovak Republic. It adopted a republican constitution February 29, 1920:

The People. — This new Republic was made up of Czechoslovaks (9,700,000) who are of Slavic origin, Germans (3,200,000), Magyars (750,000), Ruthenians (550,000), Jews (187,000), Poles (76,000), and a few others.

The Czechs live in Bohemia and Moravia, and the Slovaks in Slovakia. The Czechs and the Slovaks were not brought to-

¹ Czechoslovakia is pronounced chěk'ò slō vā'kī á.

² Ruthenia was also called Carpatho-Ukraine.

³ Masaryk is pronounced mā'sá rēk.

gether by any love for each other, but by hatred for their oppressors.

When the first National Assembly was elected in 1920, out of 300 members 147 were Czechs, 70 Germans, and 41 Slovaks. The greatest problem of the new Republic was to make loyal citizens of the alien element which constituted about 35 per cent of its population. In this Czechoslovakia failed.

The Bohemians, who live in the west around Prague, are the most advanced of all Slavs. They have a rich literature of their own, and a large percentage of them can read German.

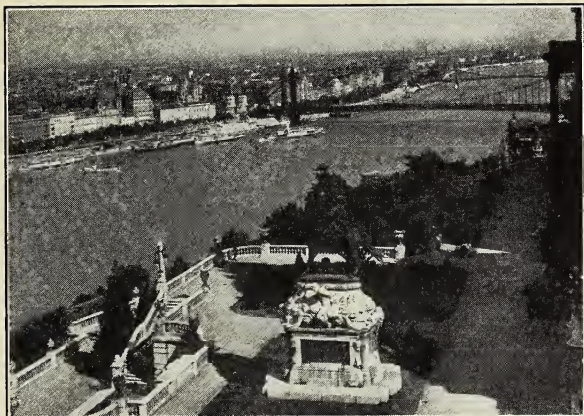
The Moravians speak much the same language as the Bohemians, but unlike the Bohemians they are largely Protestant. In southeastern Moravia the Slovaks are densely settled. The Moravians are mostly farmers.

The People of Slovakia are much less advanced than the Bohemians. They are industrious, but have been called the poorest people of Europe, partly because of the character of their mountain home. While they were under Hungarian rule, the Magyars tried to replace the Slovak with the Magyar tongue. The Slovaks resisted, and half of them remained illiterate.

The Slovaks have the same literary language as the Bohemians, and the differences in speech are so slight that each can understand the other without great difficulty. Eastern Slovakia is settled by Ruthenians.

Ruthenia (Carpatho-Ukraine). — By the Treaty of St. Germain the easternmost extremity of Czechoslovakia was given "the maximum of autonomy compatible with the unity of the Czechoslovak Republic." It had a local diet vested with jurisdiction over linguistic, ecclesiastical, and educational matters. Ninety-seven per cent of the population are constituents of the Greek church and a great portion of them are illiterate.

The German Minority Question. — *Historical Background.* — The Sudeten Germans, deriving their name from the Sudete mountain which some of them inhabit to the north of Bohemia, were massed along the Czech frontier opposite the German Reich. After the Czechoslovak Republic was created in 1918 the German Agrarians and Christian Socialists favored a policy



THE DANUBE AT BUDAPEST

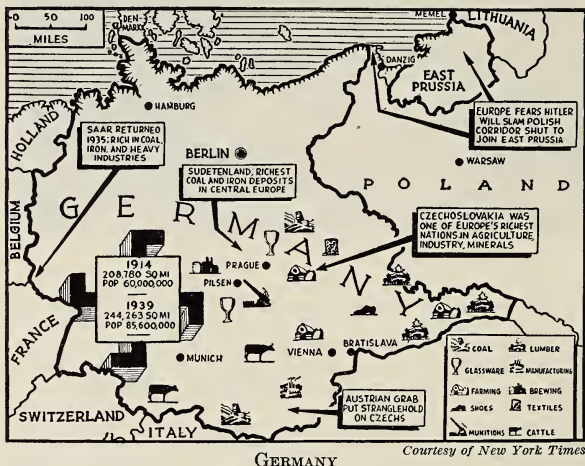
The Danube river holds a unique place in romance and in history. It has inspired musicians and has aided conquerors and traders. Except the Volga it is the longest river in Europe and drains the largest area. Rising in the heart of Germany, it winds in a general easterly direction past the cities of Ulm, Ratisbon, Passau, Linz, Vienna, Budapest, and Belgrade. It is constantly increased by tributaries from the north and south, many of which are navigable.

The Danube is the most important international waterway in Europe, largely because it is the only one flowing from west to east. Thus its course has always been a highway for colonization from the west and for invasions from the east. The result of ancient Roman colonization is still shown in the name of the kingdom of Rumania, while descendants of the invading Huns and Magyars are still found in the different countries that border this famous river.

Not only is the Danube of economic importance; it has had enormous political influence, helping to link the many and varied nations and races that dwell in its valley. Its profitable trade, running into millions of tons a year, helps to bind together the people who live along its course.

Illustrating the extent of the Danube traffic, in October, 1939, about 1500 barges carried some five million tons of goods upstream to Germany — oil from Russia and Rumania, grains, cattle, manganese ore, swine, copper, and so on. With most of the railroads in Eastern Europe in poor condition, the Danube remains Germany's great commercial roadway for inbound raw materials — perhaps the most important "leak" in the Allied blockades. However, the ice blocks the river for about three months in winter.

of co-operation with the Czechs and hence were called "Activists," while the German Nationalists and National Socialists were known as "Negativists." In 1934 the Negativists formed the Sudeten German Party under the leadership of Konrad Henlein,¹ and in 1935 polled more than a million votes, which



This map illustrates just what Germany, comparatively poor in raw materials, has added to her treasure in her eastward march that has wiped Czechoslovakia off the map. Iron ore, timber and coal deposits are important spoils of the conquest. Rich farm districts and the Skoda munitions works are not to be overlooked.

was twice as many as polled by the Activists. The program of the Henlein party was much like that of the National Socialist Party of Hitler from whom it got assistance. Because Hitler was assisting the Sudeten Germans, the Czechs felt justified in pursuing a more severe policy. They feared that if they granted autonomy to these Germans they would make it easier for Hitler to annex them to Germany.

¹ Konrad Henlein is pronounced kōn'rät hēn'lin.

Economic Aspects of the Question. — Before the World War the Germans held a dominant position in the economic life of the region. Under Czechoslovakia tariff walls were all around them, depriving them of their former markets; they lost heavily by investing in Germany, where inflation depleted their savings; and for strategic reasons the Czechs established vital industries away from the German borders in the interior of Czechoslovakia. Under the land confiscation law of 1919 — with or without payment — the Germans suffered more than the Czechs by having their large estates divided. With widespread unemployment, the Germans claimed to be discriminated against in public work employment and in the distribution of relief. It was also easier for a Czech to secure a public office; but the Czechs pointed to the Germans' inability to speak the dominant language and to their lack of loyalty.

Schools and Cultural Aspects. — German-speaking public schools were reasonably well supplied, but German-language textbooks were officially prepared in the interest of the Czechs. Many Germans sent their children to private schools which the Czechs considered disloyal to Czechoslovakia.

Military Aspects. — All districts within 25 kilometers of the border were "frontier zones" which were entrusted to special frontier police, many of whom were Czechs who could not speak German, the language of the border. Also anyone considered "nationally unreliable" was forbidden to own, conduct, or be employed in industries considered of national importance.

Konrad Henlein Demanded: (1) Self-government for the German regions. This could have been done for Germans and other nationalities by forming a federation of cantons like Switzerland, or states like those of the United States of America. (2) Economic agreements that would place Czechoslovakia in a position of dependence upon Germany. (3) Prohibition of newspapers published in Prague by German emigrants. (4) Declaration of the neutrality of Czechoslovakia and rupture of the defensive alliances with France and Soviet Russia.

The Loss of Territory in 1938. — After Hitler had sent propagandists into the German sections of Czechoslovakia for several

years, sentiment among the Germans was ready for action. Konrad Henlein, leader of the Sudetens, was Hitler's right-hand man. But would France and Russia stand by Czechoslovakia as they had promised. Russia was prepared to do so; but France was afraid to act because of Mussolini unless Great Britain would assist; and Great Britain was busy looking



SUDETEN SOLDIERS

Armed Sudeten German volunteers passing through Haslow on their march from Germany into the Eger district several days before the German army began its occupation of Czechoslovakia.

after its interests in the Japanese area, the Mediterranean, in Palestine, and in India, and was not well prepared for war. So Hitler had his way. After some negotiations at Munich (see page 158) the German troops occupied the German borders of Czechoslovakia and annexed 11,500 square miles with a population of 3,500,000.

Germany thus acquired one fifth of Czechoslovakia's territory, containing its fortifications, the major portion of the industries, including iron ore and a corridor through Czechoslovakia in

which it will build a military highway controlled by German police and customs guards. Czechoslovakia became an economic appendage of Nazi Germany.

In 1938, immediately following this loss to Germany, Czechoslovakia also lost to Hungary 4300 square miles and a population of 1,060,000. While the "getting was good" Poland also got 400 square miles with a population of 240,000, of whom only 80,000 are Poles. This territory lost to Poland contained Czechoslovakia's almost sole supply of hard coal.

Germany Dominated Czechoslovakia. — When Germany occupied a portion of Czechoslovakia, President Beneš (pronounced bě'něsh), who had opposed Germany, resigned and left the country so that a president acceptable to Hitler could succeed. After that Hitler's policies dominated Czechoslovakia. For instance, the Communists and the Jews were oppressed much as in Germany.

The Skoda arms factory of Pilsen, controlled by Eugene Schneider of France, used to employ 38,000 workmen to turn out cannon, tanks, machine guns, and shell cases for France's allies of the Little Entente (Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Rumania). But Mr. Schneider sold his interest to the Czechoslovak government, which now is expected to co-operate with the German Krupp concern, to manufacture arms for Germany and her allies.

Germany Absorbed Czechoslovakia in 1939. — The Slovaks were never happy under the government dominated by the Czechs, and in March, 1939, under the influence of Nazis, they moved from a demand for autonomy to that of independence. The Czechoslovak government promptly imprisoned the Slovak Prime Minister who led the independence movement. From the monastery where he was held he smuggled a message to Hitler asking assistance. Then the President of Czechoslovakia went to Berlin seeking Hitler's co-operation. Within six hours he yielded to Hitler and Czechoslovakia was occupied at once by German troops.

Czechoslovakia thus became a protectorate of Germany. Germany promised local autonomy to Slovakia and to what was

left of Czechoslovakia (Bohemia and Moravia). That means that Germany will control the army and foreign policy and trade and finances of the Czechs and Slovaks, and anything else that Hitler finds it necessary to control, such as the treatment of the Jews. The relationship of these little autonomous groups to Germany will probably be analogous to that of Alsace and Lorraine before the World War.



Courtesy of New York Times

THE PARTITION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

While Germany was occupying Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia, the Hungarian army marched into Ruthenia and promptly annexed it to Hungary. Thus Czechoslovakia, the war-born state created as a military buffer between Germany and southeastern Europe, died young. Germany was able to kill the country without firing a shot because the residents of Czechoslovakia fought among themselves and opened the way for intervention. The old Machiavellian principle of "Divide and Rule" was cleverly applied by Hitler.

POLAND

Old Poland. — The Poles stand physically and socially, as they do geographically, between the Russian peoples of eastern Europe and the Teutonic peoples of western Europe. In language they are Slavs; in religion, two thirds Roman Catholic.¹

¹ About 20 per cent of the inhabitants are constituents of the Greek churches and 10 per cent are Jews.

In the Middle Ages Poland was a more powerful state than Russia. Its boundaries extended from the Baltic Sea almost to the Black Sea, and included the territory which is now embraced in the new states of Latvia and Lithuania. Warsaw was then one of the great capitals of Europe.

After the division of Poland by Prussia, Russia, and Austria (1772, 1793, and 1795), the nation existed without a state — a disembodied spirit. The nationalistic patriotism continued, and unsuccessful efforts were made to throw off the Russian yoke in 1830 and 1863. Had the Poles been kindly treated by the Prussians, Russians, and Austrians, they might have forgotten their former national greatness and accepted the language and customs of their conquerors, but oppression kept alive their national consciousness and pride.

Marshal Josef Pilsudski. — During the rising against Russia in 1863 Josef Pilsudski's¹ father was imprisoned. When the young Pilsudski entered the Vilna High School, Russian teachers held him up to ridicule and scoffed at the name of his family and their pretensions to Polish loyalty. It was at this time that he swore never to cease his activities until Poland was free. As a young man he spent five years as political prisoner in Siberia. He then edited, set type, and distributed a socialist paper whose basic creed was Polish liberty. This got him into the famous prison of St. Peter and St. Paul at St. Petersburg, whence after five years, by feigning insanity, he was transferred to the hospital, from which he made his escape.

During the Russo-Japanese War, Pilsudski went to Japan and wanted Japan to finance a revolt of Poland. Japan refused. During the Russian Revolution of 1905 he weakened the Russian rule in Poland by conducting guerrilla warfare. Then he created a secret military organization which he used with German assistance against Russia at the outbreak of the World War.

When Germany occupied Russian Poland, Pilsudski was about to turn on Germany. At this time (1917) Germany asked his legions to parade in Warsaw and swear allegiance to Germany

¹ Pilsudski is pronounced pil soot'ské.

and Austria. When the oath was read the officers refused to subscribe to it, broke their swords across their knees, and stood with folded arms before their men. All were arrested and interned in Germany until the German Revolution of 1918, when the German Socialists released them.

Pilsudski rushed back to Warsaw where the provisional government had been set up, and became Secretary of War. He immediately disarmed all Germans.

The Danzig Corridor. — Poland was given access to the sea by a strip about fifty miles wide, which was occupied by Poles. The Free City of Danzig was detached from Germany by the Treaty of Versailles to provide a sea outlet for Poland.

The Government. — The constitution of the Republic of Poland was adopted in the spring of 1921. Poland was a unitary republic with a President chosen for seven years by the two houses of Parliament, which were in turn chosen by universal manhood and womanhood suffrage. The President was responsible to his ministers, who, in turn, were responsible to the lower house of Parliament. It was a responsible government like that of France. The constitution provided for an established Catholic Church, but guaranteed religious freedom. The constitution could be amended by a two-thirds vote of both houses of Parliament.

Political Parties. — Numerous parties sprang up, each dedicated to certain limited procedures, with the result that all legislation was hindered and no action could be taken save by blocs or a coalition of parties to secure the necessary majorities. During the four years following the ratification of the constitution the country saw fourteen cabinet changes, and when the crisis came in 1926 the Parliament was divided into approximately thirty different parties.

The Race Problem. — Poland had the largest minority group in Europe, constituting a third of its total population of about 32,000,000. These minorities consisted of nearly a million Germans not including the inhabitants of the Free City of Danzig, about a million and a half White Russians, five million Ukrainians, and over three million Jews who could not be

enthusiastically loyal because they were persecuted by the Poles.

International Relations. — At the end of the World War Poland gained protection from the Germans on the west and the Russians on the east by the League of Nations. Also in 1925 Poland and France signed a Treaty of Mutual Guarantee for protection against Germany. Later Poland signed a non-aggression treaty with Soviet Russia to run until 1945. In 1934



MARSHAL PILSUDSKI, RECENT DICTATOR OF POLAND

Just back of the monument and under the arcade a perpetual fire burned to commemorate the victory and independence of Poland resulting from the World War.

Poland signed a ten-year non-aggression treaty with Germany. In 1939 after Germany had occupied Bohemia and Moravia, Prime Minister Chamberlain of Great Britain assured Poland that the British and French governments would support Poland if the latter had to fight against Germany while negotiating for a stop-Hitler alliance of such countries as Great Britain, France, Poland, Rumania, Greece, and supposedly Russia.

When France was strong Poland held to her ; when Russia was

considered strong Poland dealt with her; when Germany became strong Poland cooperated with her; but when Hitler aggressively showed his untrustworthiness Poland found herself out on a limb. In 1939 Hitler sawed off the limb and divided the fruit with Stalin; in 1941 he invaded Russia and took all of Poland.



Courtesy The New York Times

THE FOURTH PARTITION OF POLAND

How Germany and Russia divided Poland in 1939 before Germany swallowed it all in 1941.

German Treatment of Conquered Poland. — At the time of the German invasion of Poland the military forces destroyed much property and ruthlessly killed men, women, and children. The Jews of Poland, some of whom had fled from Germany, have been treated without mercy. All those living in western Poland were forced from their homes and placed in ghettos or concentration camps in the central areas of Poland known as the Government General. There the outcasts of Europe were

allowed to settle. They include the anti-Nazi elements removed from France and Czechoslovakia as well as the Poles and Jews. The heads of government of this region are Germans from the Reich, who lord it over the Polish-Germans as well as over the Poles and other outcast people. Forced labor is used to drain swamps, rebuild the destroyed cities, and work in the fields. Jews living in the ghettos of the region are not allowed to leave; and disease, starvation, and cruel treatment are rapidly taking heavy tolls of the Jewish population. It is estimated that over two million Jews have already perished in Poland as the result of German cruelties. The Poles have fared little better, and several million of them have died or disappeared. If the war continues many more years there may be a far greater loss of life through disease and starvation.

Hitler's Transfers of Populations. — As early as 1939 Germany started moving Germans from the Baltic area to western Poland which had been made a part of Greater Germany. These 130,000 Baltic Germans, many of whom objected to being transferred, were put on farms taken, without payment, from Polish peasants. Only 20 per cent of these Baltic people were farmers and the movement was not successful. Germans from central Poland and Bessarabia, numbering about 400,000, were also moved to this region, and since they were experienced farmers they were more successful as food producers for the Reich. However, Germany was not able to settle more than 700,000 people of German ancestry, including those who already lived there, in this part of Poland. This left eight or nine million Poles as a majority who despise their new masters. The Poles remaining on their farms are under the strict supervision of a German corporation connected with the food administration, which is taking at least 25 per cent of all that the peasants raise.

YUGOSLAVIA ¹

Description. — Yugoslavia, meaning "the land of the south Slavs," was, until 1929, known as the "Kingdom of Serbs,

¹ Yugoslavia is pronounced yōō'gō slā'vī ā.

Croats, and Slovenes." It embraced the former Kingdom of Serbia enlarged by the former Kingdom of Montenegro; the Austro-Hungarian districts of Bosnia, Herzegovina, Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia; part of the Banat of Temesvar which was claimed by Rumania; and a part of western Bulgaria. The 14,000,000 population included 47 per cent Orthodox Greeks, 39 per cent Roman Catholics, and 11 per cent Mohammedans. Racially the country embraces 2,500,000 Croats, 1,000,000 Slovenes, 550,000 Macedonian Slavs, 450,000 Magyars, 450,000 Germans, 250,000 Albanians, and 150,000 Rumanians.

Though most of the inhabitants of this state have a common language, those of the west who are Roman Catholic cannot read the publications of those of the east who are of the Orthodox Greek church, for the former use the Roman alphabet while the latter use the Russian characters fostered by the Greek church.

The savage manners of the last century still exist among some of the Yugoslavs of today. Armed conflicts are not uncommon, political feuds are especially bitter, and murders resulting from private feuds occur frequently in some localities. Illiteracy is prevalent, and civilization in secluded districts is at a low stage. Yet the people are strong and well adapted to hard labor; and points like Belgrade, the capital, have been centers of literary activity.

Dangers. — Practically every mile of frontier of Yugoslavia, except that bordering Greece, faced an unfriendly state. The northeastern part includes many Magyars and Teutons who desired to return to Hungary, of which they were a part for a thousand years. There were also many Rumanians who desired annexation to Rumania. The districts taken from Bulgaria along the railroad from Belgrade to Salonica contained a hostile population. The Albanians, who are partly Mohammedans, are traditional enemies of the Greek Orthodox Serbs. The Montenegrins will with difficulty forget that they were recently an independent state. In fact, even the Croatians, who are most like the Serbs, established a short-lived Croatian republic in 1919, and again in 1941 as a puppet state.

There developed great bitterness between Yugoslavia and

Italy. By the secret Treaty of London, 1915, Great Britain and Russia agreed that Italy should receive certain regions on the Dalmatian coast. This was expected to be at the expense of Austria-Hungary, but when this empire fell apart and Yugoslavia was formed, the latter laid claim to this region. Serbia fought on the side of the Allies, but many Croats and most of the Slovenes fought against the Italians for three years. Racially, however, the inhabitants of the Dalmatian coast are overwhelmingly Slavs, and not Latins.

After a long-drawn-out controversy, in which the Italian poet d'Annunzio¹ seized the city of Fiume and governed it against Italian orders, the Treaty of Rapallo (1920) settled the boundary between Yugoslavia and Italy; and in 1924 Yugoslavia gave Italy sovereignty over Fiume.

In 1939, after Mussolini seized Albania, Yugoslavia shifted from the Little Entente to friendly relations with Italy because she was pinched in between Mussolini and Hitler.

Government. — Under the constitution proclaimed in 1931 by the King, Yugoslavia was nominally a constitutional, parliamentary, and hereditary monarchy vested in Peter II of the ruling house of Serbia.

From 1929 to 1931 Yugoslavia was a dictatorship under the King (see page 340); then the constitution of 1931 was prepared and proclaimed by the King — the people having no voice.

Yugoslavia Defeated. — In 1941 Germany invaded Yugoslavia after negotiations with Regent Prince Paul to turn over the government and military rights to Germany were stopped by the young King Peter II assuming power. The Yugoslavian army fought bravely but was defeated. King Peter went into exile, but the resistance to Germany continued through guerilla tactics by the *chetniks* (Serbian for "member of the company") who reorganized a Yugoslavian army.

RUMANIA

Commercial Treaty with Germany. — In 1939, after Germany and Hungary co-operated in seizing and dividing Czechoslovakia,

¹ d'Annunzio is pronounced dän nōon'dzê ō.

Rumania became alarmed lest Germany and Hungary overrun her and dominate the country — and perhaps restore to Hungary the western portion which was part of Hungary until the end of the World War. Rather than take a chance of losing everything, King Carol of Rumania yielded to a Hitler-dictated treaty.

This treaty provides for the development of agriculture and timber with "German aid," for the development of minerals and oil through mixed German-Rumanian companies, for the use of German machinery and military equipment, for the erection of government-owned plants, and for the creation of free zones in which industrial and commercial enterprises can be organized and which will permit the erection of storehouses and docks for German shipping.

British-French Relations. — Alarmed by Germany's encroachment upon Rumania in 1939 Great Britain and France offered financial assistance to King Carol, agreed to purchase agricultural products for which a market was needed, and purchased all the oil possible to prevent its falling into German hands. But when France collapsed in June, 1940, Rumania was again entirely at the mercy of Germany and Russia.

Nazi Government Established. — As a desperate effort to prevent the seizure of Bessarabia by Russia, King Carol accepted the pro-Nazi party, called "Party of the Nation," and made himself dictator of a totalitarian state in June, 1940.

Russia Dismembers Rumania. — During the 19th century Bessarabia was held by Russia though the majority of the inhabitants were Rumanians. At the end of the World War I it was restored to Rumania without Russia's consent. But at the end of June, 1940, when Germany and Great Britain were at war and could not interfere, Russia demanded and received from Rumania this rich agricultural area of Bessarabia and northern Bucovina, and placed herself in virtual control of the mouth of the important Danube River.

Rumania Joins the Axis Powers. — The efforts of King Carol to keep Rumania out of the war were unsuccessful. He was forced to flee for his life when a Nazi-inspired coup seized the country. Although young King Michael is the nominal head

of the government he is reported to be held a prisoner somewhere in Italy. Germany dominates the entire lower Danube area, and has possession of the Rumanian oil.

Because of the collaboration with the Axis Powers and the Rumanian action against Russia, Great Britain and her Allies have declared war on Rumania. King Carol, who had been favorable to the British, is now residing in Mexico.

NAZI ECONOMIC IMPERIALISM

One of the most important branches of the German army is an economic unit that follows along with the invading forces and immediately takes charge of the industry and financial institutions of the occupied zones. This unit dismounted the machinery abandoned by the fleeing populace and sent it to Germany, especially if it could be used by the Nazis for producing war goods. Where the civilian populations did not flee before the invaders and some economic life was still being carried on, the Germans used enforced sale of materials to secure the products rather than using outright confiscation.

The invaders brought along "occupation notes" which the people were forced to take in exchange. These notes were overvalued in terms of the national currency of the occupied area and were not backed by any security. They could not be used to purchase goods except in the region for which they were issued. For instance, these occupation notes issued in Belgium could not be used in France, Denmark, or even in Germany, but were usable only in Belgium. The immediate result was inflated prices, and at first the civilians thought they were receiving high prices for their products. This later proved to be just a legal form of confiscation as the money could not be spent for much since the Germans had already taken everything of value.

Germany also set about acquiring controlling interests in the major industries of the occupied countries. This was done by the secret purchase of stocks through agents or banks with practically worthless money. This had enabled the Nazis to control the heavy industries throughout Europe by the summer of 1942.

"Occupation costs," or indemnities that the Germans forced on the conquered countries, total over \$4,500,000,000 a year. The actual cost of occupation was much less, and the surplus was used to gain control of private industries.

The Hitler government planned to establish just two centers for heavy industries in Europe, one in the Ruhr-Rhine basin and the other in Upper Silesia. Whole industries had been moved by the Nazis from occupied countries to these two regions.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. How did Hitler prepare the way for the annexation of Austria?
2. Why were many of the Austrians willing to become a part of Germany?
3. How was the annexation brought about in its final stages?
4. Why was Hungary able to seize a portion of Czechoslovakia?
5. Describe the differences between the Moravians and Slovaks of Czechoslovakia.
6. Explain the German minority question in Czechoslovakia: Historical background. Economic aspects. Education. Defense. Konrad Henlein.
7. How much of Czechoslovakia was taken by Germany in 1938? By Hungary? By Poland?
8. What is the present relationship between Germany and Czechoslovakia?
9. Describe the important part played by Pilsudski in the recent history of Poland.
10. What happened to Poland in 1939?
11. Explain Rumania's foreign relations.
12. Explain what happened to Yugoslavia.

PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Did Hitler's preference for dealing with individual nations instead of through the League of Nations indicate a selfish motive or a desire for justice?
2. Do you think that the union of Austria with Germany will be for the betterment or the injury of central Europe?
3. At the end of the war should the small nations of Central Europe and the Balkans, including Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and possibly Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Greece, and Albania, have their former boundaries restored, setting up governments which are not strong enough to defend themselves or to be economically inde-

pendent? If this happens then it would be only a short time until they were again having to toady to the powerful nations nearby who could offer them the greatest protection. Or should they form a Federation of Central Europe which would be strong enough to protect its members from such neighbors as Germany and Russia, and at the same time be economically independent? Have they the natural resources for economic independence? For producing their own munitions? What are some of the problems such a Federation would face?

4. The Esterhazy family of Hungary owns more than three quarters of a million acres of land. Large estates are often more scientifically and efficiently cultivated than small tracts. This means more food. As the owners can eat only so much it means more food for other people. On the other hand, what social advantages might result from smaller estates? Is it possible to break up large estates by increasing the tax per acre?

5. In 1927 a Russian student in Poland assassinated the Soviet Minister to Poland. The assassin was sentenced for life, but the President of Poland commuted the sentence to fifteen years because of his "youth and high moral character." At the same time Marshal Pilsudski, Premier, War Minister, and head of the Polish army, sent instructions to the Polish Minister at Moscow to reply in effect to Litvinov's second note of protest as follows: "In attempting to humiliate Poland without reason, you only incur the risk of humiliating yourself, since you have not sufficient force behind your threats, which you know as well as we do. We have done everything reasonable to give you satisfaction and now we must courteously urge that you let the matter drop, because if regrettable instances follow you alone will be responsible." Russia then had two weeks of preparedness to arouse patriotism.

Contrast this reply of Marshal Pilsudski with that of William Jennings Bryan, when he was Secretary of State, to the Ambassador from Japan. See page 484.

6. Lithuania maintained that a state of war existed with Poland from 1923, when the Council of Ambassadors permitted Poland to retain Vilna, which she had seized from Lithuania. Is a nation stronger with a large territory including large groups of dissatisfied minorities, or with a smaller territory and a homogeneous population?

7. Greece and Turkey, and Greece and Bulgaria, have helped remove racial animosities by exchange of minority populations. Do you think this method could be used in central Europe?

8. In 1932 the French government was the principal contributor to a \$45,000,000 loan to the Austrian government on condition that Austria would not become annexed to Germany before 1952. Why was France opposed to the union of Austria with Germany?

9. In January, 1929, King Alexander of Yugoslavia discontinued

Parliament, appointed friends as ministers and brought the courts under their direction, abolished the constitution of 1921, and made himself dictator. From the following facts do you think he acted wisely?

Yugoslavia is one of the "synthetic" states created at the end of the World War. Like long separated brothers, the southern Slavs thought they would again be happy under one roof, notwithstanding the fact that some had become Catholics, some Moslems, and some of the Orthodox faith; and that some wrote the Latin alphabet while others used Russian characters.

The government was organized with the Serbian King, Peter, as ruler. The Croats and smaller groups were unwilling to see so much power delegated to Serbia, but they feared their restless neighbors and aggressive Italy, so they welcomed the protection of the Serbian army.

King Alexander took the throne in November, 1921, when his father, King Peter, died. He was a likable person and always advocated the parliamentary form of government which his father had tried to build up.

The peasant leader of the Croats was shot in June, 1928, by a Nationalist (Serbian) deputy who ran amuck in the Parliament, killing two members and wounding others. Feeling ran high. One government after another was set up, only to fall. Finally a coalition cabinet was formed under a clerical, Father Koroshetz, as Prime Minister.

In the meantime, the Croats and Dalmatian members of the parliament withdrew to Zagreb, the old Croat capital, and set up a rival government which boycotted the Belgrade "rump" parliament. The Prime Minister sent an invitation to members of the rival parliament to return, but they refused. After unsuccessful conferences with the Croat leaders, the King took the decisive step and made himself dictator.

In September, 1931, King Alexander ended the dictatorship, and proclaimed a new constitution. In 1934 he was murdered in France, and his son, Peter II, reigned with regents until the German invasion of 1941, when Peter II assumed authority before defeat by the Nazis.

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CHAPTER XX

FROM CZARISM TO COMMUNISM IN RUSSIA

Introduction. — The Russian people are supposed to have sprung from the Alpine race of central Europe and to have settled around Moscow. They belong to the Slavic group¹



WINTER PALACE OF THE CZARS, LENINGRAD

This palace, with its 1000 rooms, is one of many owned by the late Czars of Russia. It is now used as a museum.

which Novikov, the Russian sociologist, characterized as changeable in mood and in effort — now exalted, now depressed, melancholy, and fatalistic; careless of punctuality and often of honesty; addicted to periodical drunkenness (especially the peasantry); generally placid and kind-hearted, though at times unexpectedly cruel and ferocious.

¹ The Slavic group embraces the Russians, Poles, Czechs (Bohemian and Moravian), Serbians, Croatians, Montenegrins, Slovaks, Slovenians, Ruthenians, Dalmatians, Herzegovinians, and Bosnians.

Early History. — European Russia was at one time claimed by the Roman Empire, but the greater portion of it had ceased to owe allegiance to Constantinople, the capital of the eastern Roman Empire, before the Turks captured this city in the middle of the fifteenth century. During the next century Ivan IV¹ (1535–1584) assumed the title of Czar to give expression to the idea that the Muscovite rulers were the heirs and successors of the Caesars of Constantinople. He maintained that if Constantinople had been the second Rome, Moscow was the third. And true to the Roman precedent of conquest, he extended the borders of Russia beyond the Ural Mountains into Siberia and to the shores of the Caspian Sea.

Peter the Great,² who ascended the throne in 1682 and died in 1725, captured Azov, a port on an arm of the Black Sea, from the Turks, and the eastern Baltic region around the Gulf of Finland from the Swedes. His last order, issued from his death bed, sent Bering across the straits which now bear his name into Alaska.

In 1783 Catherine II³ subjugated and annexed Crimea to Russia. In 1772, 1793, and 1795 she, Frederick the Great of

¹ Ivan IV was called "Ivan the Terrible" because of his many cruel and revengeful acts.

² Peter the Great drove the cultured Swedes from the Baltic region and built St. Petersburg in a miserable marsh at the mouth of the Neva River. He called this his window through which he could look out upon civilized Europe. In order to build 30,000 houses during the first year he brought hordes of serfs and compelled them to dig with sticks and to carry earth in their aprons, but because of hunger and exposure the bones of 100,000 wretched laborers were buried beneath those houses. After a visit to France he ordered that Peterhof be built for him — a palace to be grander than that at Versailles for which Louis XIV had overtaxed the people of France. Of his materialistic reign Diderot said, "The Russians as fashioned by Peter were rotten before they were ripe." Of this Peter himself was aware. "I wish to reform my empire," he once said sadly, "but I cannot reform myself."

³ Catherine II, daughter of an official in a small German principality, married Peter III, grandson of Peter the Great. After the death of her husband, who seems to have met death at the hands of Catherine's lovers, Catherine ruled from 1762 to 1796. She was a great builder, but she bestowed hundreds of thousands of serfs upon her favorites. She encouraged literature and commerce.

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Prussia, and Maria Theresa of Austria divided Poland among themselves, and thus blotted a sovereign state from the map. During the Napoleonic Wars, Czar Alexander, with the encouragement of Napoleon, seized Finland from Sweden and the Danubian provinces from Turkey; and by the Treaty of Vienna (1815) Russia obtained an additional portion of Poland, around and west of Warsaw, at the expense of Prussia and Austria.

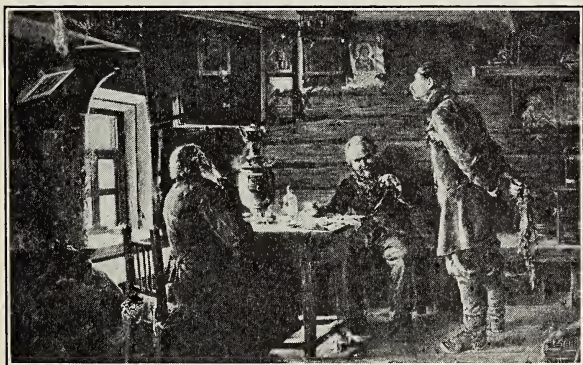


TYPICAL PEASANT'S HOME — EXTERIOR

During almost every decade of the nineteenth century imperialistic Russia added territory to the Empire. She antagonized Great Britain by expanding towards India, and she exasperated Japan by pushing down the Pacific to Korea. In fact, the Empire came to embrace so many peoples that there were scores of languages or dialects spoken in the different regions of Russia and Siberia.

Serfdom Abolished. — Until 1861 the peasants of Russia were serfs bound to the soil. Peter the Great had worked them as slaves when he built the city of St. Petersburg, and Catherine II took lands with half a million serfs from monasteries and gave them to her favorites. At their emancipation in

1861 it was necessary to provide them with land of their own. Therefore, the state bought what was considered sufficient for the purpose from the landowners, handed it over to the peasants, and recouped itself by imposing a land tax on the peasants to expire after a period of forty-nine years. The tax became burdensome and the amount of land insufficient to support a growing population. This peasant situation, the desire of the Baltic



TYPICAL PEASANT'S HOME — INTERIOR

These unplastered log cabins with shingled or thatched roofs have housed three fourths of the people of Russia. Note the absence of furniture, the samovar for tea, and the ikons on the walls.

provinces for independence, the general disregard of the classes for the masses, together with the disastrous Russo-Japanese War, culminated in the Revolution of 1905.

The Revolution of 1905 and the Establishment of the Duma. — In 1905 the Czar issued a series of decrees which professed to establish a constitution for his people. These decrees provided for a Parliament of two chambers — an upper house or Council and a lower house or Duma. The upper house represented the classes, and the lower house was elected indirectly by the masses.

The first two assemblies of the Duma were dissolved because they proved to be too radical. Some of its hotheads went so far as to declare that the true mission of the Duma was not to

pass laws but to precipitate a revolution. By a decree of 1907 suffrage was greatly restricted. The third Duma was less radical and was allowed to serve out its five-year term. The fourth Duma (1912) was still in existence when the World War began.

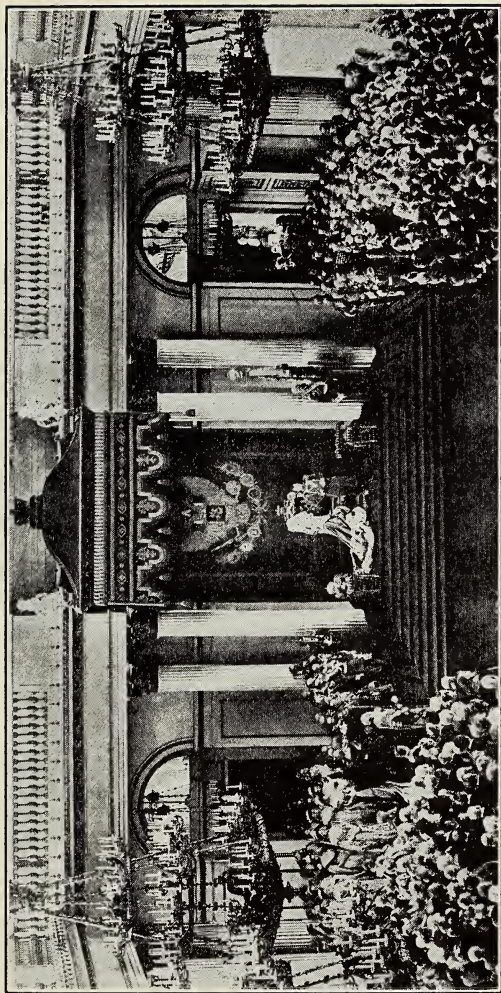
The failure of the Revolution of 1905 to produce a real representative government was largely due to the revolutionaries themselves, who, instead of confining their attacks to the governmental machine, sought to undermine the entire structure of society and to overthrow the moral and religious ideals of the nation. Even the first Duma, which contained the ablest politicians among the reformers, was not constructive and refused to condemn terrorism while demanding an amnesty for all political offenders. The revolutionaries were not modernists or new theologians, but atheists; not Fabians or social reformers, but revolutionary socialists armed with bombs.

In Russia there were a few million educated people called *intelligentsia*, who controlled or sought to control the destinies of the millions of uneducated tillers of the soil. They were the people who passed through school and university, and could therefore lay claim to a certain amount of culture. Their birth was a matter of no moment, — they could be the children of peasants or noblemen.

The Russians read many translations of foreign authors, so the political and social ideas of the intelligentsia were almost wholly derived from nations whose structure was totally different from their own. The struggle of 1905 was one between two sections of the intelligentsia — political idealism against political stagnation, the “red flag versus red tape.”

Throughout the nineteenth century Russia continued to grow in the regions of the Caucasus Mountains, central Asia, and southeastern Siberia; and her weight and bulk became too great for her intellect. More than 80 per cent of her vast population were illiterate, and shortly before the World War drunkenness was really encouraged by national dispensaries which were operated to raise funds for the support of the army.

The masses were oppressed so that the classes might live in luxury. The Czar had his elegant palaces. Among them was



FORMAL OPENING OF THE DUMA

The Czar is reading the imperial message from the throne.

the winter palace in St. Petersburg with its thousand rooms; Peterhof, the country estate of fountains and golden waterfalls in imitation of Versailles; and two more with Oriental luxury fifteen miles from St. Petersburg. The latter were connected with the capital by a private railroad which paralleled the public trunk-line railroad and terminated in a large private station. The Czar is said to have spent \$7000 a year on the single item of playing cards, while the masses lived in squalor.



THE FAVORITE SUMMER PALACE OF CZAR NICHOLAS II

In his later years the Czar was partial to this palace which was not far from St. Petersburg, and which was connected with the city by a guarded private railroad. He was kept prisoner here previous to his transfer to Siberia when the German army threatened this region.

The World War. — When the World War came Russia prohibited the sale of vodka, and its army made a better showing than was expected. But the evil effects of drunken generations of peasantry and self-indulgent aristocracy could not be overcome by a sudden reform. The masses had nothing for which to be patriotic. They were illiterate and lacked scientific knowledge. The classes lacked organization and leaders to organize a campaign in opposition to Germany, whose population was more than 99 per cent literate. Graft flourished, munitions were not supplied to her 13,000,000 men who were called to the

colors, and food was not distributed to her people. German agents took advantage of these conditions and were able to arouse the masses against their autocratic régime.

The Overthrow of the Czar. — Because of the general dissatisfaction throughout Russia, early in 1917 the Duma prepared to overthrow the Czar, who was then at the front with the troops. On March 12 imperial decrees were issued suspending the Duma and the Council of the Empire, but the Duma unanimously refused to dissolve. The next day the President of the Duma announced the formation of a Provisional Government with the Executive Committee of the Duma at its head. On March 15 Czar Nicholas II,¹ being unable to make his way from the front to the capital, was induced to abdicate. After some months'



THE CZAR OF RUSSIA AND HIS FAMILY

confinement in a palace near Petrograd² he and his family were exiled to Tobolsk in Siberia (August 13, 1917). In 1918 the entire family was put to death in a basement at Ekaterinburg, Siberia.³

¹ Before his death, Alexander III made Nicholas, his eldest son, swear that he would abdicate the throne as soon as Michael, his younger brother, was 21 years old. Nicholas gave his word to his dying father, but he did not keep it. The mother of Nicholas II refused to take oath of allegiance to him when he came to the throne. She said to the Grand Duke who was trying to force her to take the oath, "Can't you understand? I know him better than you do; he is my son, and to no one is he dearer than to me, but under his rule Russia will go to ruin!" Nicholas was supported by the officers of a certain regiment that happened to be at hand and with whom he had been in the habit of carousing. He was also urged by his wife to insist upon his rights.

² St. Petersburg until the World War and Leningrad since the death of Lenin in 1924.

³ Although monarchy was practically abolished when the Czar abdicated, the republic was not formally proclaimed until September 17, 1917.

The Three Revolutions of 1917. — This March revolution of the Constitutional Democrats against the Czar was the triumph of democracy over autocracy. The July revolution, led by Kerenski, was the triumph of moderate socialism over constitutional democracy. The October revolution saw Kerenski's moderate socialist régime give way to the Soviet¹ régime. It was the triumph of communism over socialism.

When the communists, called "Reds," seized the reins of government, a life-and-death conflict developed between them and the nobles and capitalists, called the "Whites." "Red" and "White" armies spread wholesale death and destruction. Millions of souls were snuffed out by mass execution and civil war; other millions stampeded across Russian borders and scattered as homeless exiles over the world; still other millions died when devastated Russia was scourged by pestilence and famine. Even cannibalism resulted in some localities. The waste of blood and treasure is incalculable.

The Bolsheviki in Control. — Following the March, 1917, revolution, the Soviet of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates forced the Minister of War to establish a hierarchy of soldiers' councils at the front, which practically superseded the authority of officers, destroyed all discipline, and necessitated peace with Germany.

Lenin,² who led the Bolsheviki³ of the Second Duma (1905), had sought a place of refuge in Switzerland, but in April, 1917, the Germans assisted him back to the Russian border with his aids in a special train. In Petrograd he led the Bolsheviki in the July revolution but was driven to Finland. Later, with the assistance of Trotsky, he won the October revolution.

The success of this revolution placed the Bolsheviki in control,

¹ "Soviet" is the Russian word for council or committee.

² Lenin is pronounced lén'in.

³ The word "Bolsheviki" means "belonging to the majority." In 1905 when the Socialist Democratic Party, composed of industrial workers, split, the radicals, led by Nikolai Lenin, were in the majority and called themselves the Bolsheviki. The Social Revolutionary Party, made up of peasants and industrial workers, split in the summer of 1917 and the radical majority faction of this party found themselves in agreement with Lenin on all points.

and immediately they advocated: (1) the offer of an immediate democratic peace; (2) the immediate handing over of the large estates to the peasants; (3) the transfer of all authority to the Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates; and (4) the honest convocation of a Constituent Assembly. They also proclaimed the peasants to be the owners of the lands and published a number of secret treaties and diplomatic letters of the earlier governments.

On December 15, 1917, a truce with Germany was signed and peace negotiations were entered upon without the participation of Russia's allies. On March 16, 1918, the treaty was ratified by the All-Russian Soviet Congress, a congress made up of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils throughout Russia.



LENIN ADDRESSING THE ARMY

On July 10, 1918, the All-Russian Soviet Congress proclaimed a constitution. This document was modified by various decrees, and was replaced by a new constitution proclaimed in December, 1936.

Meaning of Communism. — Communism means the holding of possessions in common, and their distribution according to the needs of each member of the group. Under communism all secure necessities before any receive comforts or luxuries. For instance, in Russia groups of students formed communes by pooling all of their income (stipends from the government), living together in a rented room or two, and spending the money as decided by a majority vote. Some groups at first carried the idea so far as to own their clothes in common.

Communism Tried in Russia. — Nikolai Lenin was a devotee of Karl Marx and a hater of the Czarist régime in Russia because he had there been a political prisoner and his brother had been

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put to death for political offenses. In 1917 the Germans assisted him and his aides from his political asylum in Switzerland to the Russian border to foment a revolution and thus force Russia to make peace with Germany. He was successful, and under his dictatorship in Russia he exhibited the greatest experiment in communism that the world has ever known.

All land, buildings, furniture of value, bank accounts, railroads, mines, factories, and practically everything of value was confiscated by the government ("nationalized"). Instead of private business and private sales for profit, the government operated all great industries; determined what could be exported from the country and what could enter the country; paid much the same wages for all kinds of work; provided free education for all children and free college education for loyal and promising communist youth; through the regulation of prices made necessities comparatively cheap and comforts and luxuries high; and rented living quarters in proportion to ability to pay. If a man and wife without children had a servant, the rent per square meter of floor space was the highest, but if the family was large and there was no servant the rent per square meter was very low. Apartment houses were originally built with a common mess hall and children were cared for in nurseries where feasible. Unemployment insurance, free medical care, maternity benefits, two weeks of annual vacation, and old-age pensions were provided for the industrial workers.

Communism Gives Way to Socialism. — Lenin and his chief aid, Trotsky, were thoroughgoing communists. They wanted world-wide communism, and worked to bring about world revolution; but they were unsuccessful. They were unable to foment revolutions abroad, and they were unable to convert the successful farmers to communism in Russia. Farmers would not produce in sufficient quantities, and in 1921 several million Russians starved. A "strategic retreat" was made from communism towards capitalism, with the "New Economic Policy," which permitted private business in certain lines. But under the first Five-Year Plan (1928-1933) the country reverted to communism.

Trotsky also wanted world revolution; but when Stalin¹ replaced Lenin he was too practical to follow Trotsky's ideas of world revolution, so he ostracized Trotsky and endeavored to make Russia a model communistic state. Under the second Five-Year Plan, Stalin forced the farmers to merge their little plots of land, stock, and machinery into Collective Farms (modified communes). The successful farmers ("Kulaks")



LENIN'S TOMB IN RED SQUARE, MOSCOW

Sovfoto

A long line of people is waiting to enter the tomb to view Lenin's preserved body. In the background of the picture stands the Church of St. Basil.

resisted, food supplies were reduced, and the government allowed a couple of million of the rural population to starve.

Under the attempted communism buildings deteriorated and production was small because most individuals were unwilling to put forth their best efforts for the common cause. Stalin saw that pure communism could not be made to work and he evolved from communism to a managed socialistic society, with private business still forbidden.

¹Stalin is pronounced stä'lën.

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QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Explain the racial origin and characteristics of the Russian people.
2. To what extent did Ivan IV extend the borders of Russia? Peter the Great? Catherine the Second?
3. Explain how serfdom was abolished in Russia in 1861.
4. Describe the Revolution of 1905, and the establishment of the Duma.
5. Describe the economic conditions of the masses and of the classes in Russia before the World War.
6. Why did Russia make a rather poor showing during the World War?
7. Describe the overthrow of the Czar.
8. Describe the three revolutions of 1917.
9. Explain what the Bolsheviks did when they came into power.
10. What is the meaning of "communism"?
11. Under communism in Russia, what happened to land and buildings and practically all of the property? To wages paid? To education? To the cost of rents? Social security benefits?
12. Why did communism give way to socialism in Russia?

PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Why has Russia been a century behind western Europe both educationally and economically?
2. Do you consider that the Bolsheviks were justified in killing Nicholas II and his family?
3. The American says: "The land belongs to him who owns it." The Russian peasant says: "The land belongs to him who works it." The Russian communist government confiscated all land for the state, and said it must be redivided from time to time according to the principle of use and need. Under which of these systems is the fertility of land more likely to be improved, orchards planted, buildings improved? Under which is the total agricultural output for consumption likely to be greater?
4. In Moscow the nationally owned apartments are rented on the basis of ability to pay. Tenants without children pay more than tenants with children. In a capitalistic country apartments are rented on the competitive basis of the owner's ability to secure renters. Under which basis are future building and improvements likely to be made? In the United States how is the Government helping to provide houses for the low-income group?
5. A worthless Russian millionaire who used to maintain stables of fast horses was driven from Russia by the Bolsheviks. He became stable boy for an American millionaire. He was not fond of his job, and once

said to a friend: "I spend six hours getting these ponies ready for my boss to play polo for one hour. I am almost a Bolshevik myself." Do you think the Russian nobility were justified in maintaining their magnificent palaces? Are American millionaires justified in maintaining comparable estates?

6. The Russian revolution largely grew out of the struggle between the privileged and the oppressed classes. Do you think the inheritance tax in the United States is one means of preventing a class struggle in the United States? Do you think universal free education even through the university is also calculated to prevent this class struggle?

7. Russia produced less than 5 per cent as many automobiles as were produced in America. Do you suppose the large-scale production of inexpensive Fords would have resulted under a system of communism in America?

8. Communism is the distribution of a nation's income to each according to his need, while socialism is its distribution according to the work contributed by each. The communist experiment in Russia failed in most respects. Why? Russia is now experimenting with socialism. Is it any more likely to succeed?

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CHAPTER XXI

THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS EXPERIMENTS WITH SOCIALISM

The Present Socialistic Régime continues the large industrial public monopolies. But communism, distribution according to need, has been replaced by socialism. Socialism means distribution according to work contributed, and the industrial workers and the farm laborers are now paid on the piece basis or according to the amount of work they do. Also intellectual workers are now paid various salaries — some receiving at least ten times as much as others.

Government Monopolies. — About 163 industries are organized as public corporations somewhat like our R.F.C. or T.V.A. For instance, only the government manufactures shoes, and they are sold only through local governmental retail agencies. There is no profiteering allowed in Russia. When a woman stood in line at a store, bought a pair of shoes for \$40 in terms of American exchange, and sold them to another person for \$50, she was given two years in prison for profiteering. If the shoe corporation loses money, the government makes it up — sometimes by printing more money. But as the government regulates prices it usually places the prices where the industry will be self-sustaining. If there is a limited supply, or if the government wants to discourage the use of certain things, it will price them high; but if the supply is more adequate and its use is desirable, the price will be relatively low. For instance, leather has been scarce and the use of bourgeois playing cards is not desired, therefore their prices are high. On the other hand, the government endeavors to keep the price of rent, public services, and food low.

Social Security. — An industry must pay about 20 per cent in addition to wages into a fund for social security, such as

unemployment, old age, sickness, summer vacations, and maternity. This security is not extended to farmers.

Trade Unions are powerful in the big industries. For instance, they can levy taxes on wages for rest homes and other projects. However, trade unions are subordinate to the Communist Party, and the Party dominates the government, which in turn determines wages, hours, and other working conditions. (The



NEW TYPE OF APARTMENTS, MOSCOW

The masses of Russia have always been poorly housed, and most of them still are. Under the communist-socialist régime public works were promoted and residences were allowed to deteriorate. The individual lacked incentive to keep up property because he did not own it. Recently the peasant has been given partial ownership of his house.

working week of five out of six days with seven- or eight-hour days was changed in June, 1940, to a working week of six days out of seven with eight-hour days.)

Collective Farms. — Unoccupied lands were early organized into some 5000 state farms, of which some contained more than 50,000 acres. These were operated by the government like any other large industry. Most of European Russia was covered by small holdings; and during the Revolution the serfs seized these and divided them into still smaller tracts

averaging about fifteen acres. Even the fifteen acres were commonly made up of a number of smaller plots. These small holdings did not lend themselves to machinery, therefore the government compelled the farmers to merge their land, stock, and equipment into co-operating communes known as Collective Farms. The members of the Collective have a sort of town meeting at which members¹ determine policies and elect a manager; and with a committee he divides the workers into brigades such as a brigade to raise cereals, a cattle brigade, or a vegetable or fruit brigade. The workers are directed by the manager and the foremen of the brigades, and they are paid for their work according to the amount they do — both the time they put in and the amount they accomplish being taken into account. The cash payments are received after the crops are sold. The Collective owns such equipment as it can afford, but tractors, combines, and the like are usually rented from a nearby “tractor station” operated by the government.

Millions of the more progressive farmers (“Kulaks”)² naturally opposed being drawn into the Collective, and many of them killed their cattle before they were forced to join the Collective, or before they were driven from their homes if they refused to join. Dissatisfaction on the part of millions was never entirely allayed, even though in 1932–1933 the government allowed several millions to starve to death to teach the non-co-operators a lesson. So the government has compromised. Now each family is allowed to call the house its own (in the hope that it will be kept in repair) and to have a couple of acres of land around the house for a cow, a few sheep, a hog, some chickens, some vegetables, and fruit. And the farmer is also allowed to sell his surplus in a competitive city market; but he must do it himself, as buying and selling as a middleman is

¹ One may become a member at the age of 16.

² The literal meaning of *Kulak* is “big fist.” It referred to the grabbing nature of the landowners before the Revolution, or to the two million relatively prosperous farmers after the Revolution who produced more than they needed — sometimes renting the land of their neighbors and “hiring” the holders of the rented land.

Kulak is pronounced kōō lāk’.



Sovfoto

A MOMENT OF GAIETY ON A SOVIET COLLECTIVE FARM



Sovfoto

COLLECTIVE LUNCH ON A COLLECTIVE FARM IN RUSSIA AT
HARVEST TIME

one of the most heinous crimes in Russia. There must be no profiteering.

About three fourths of the Russians live on farms, and most of them on Collective Farms. These Russians do not have social security. When they get old they depend upon an easy job or upon relatives or charity.

Co-operatives. — The Russian socialist ideal is to have all industry organized into government monopolies; but so far some industries, such as tailoring, barbering, trucking, and shoe-shining, are not so organized. An effort is being made to organize these into co-operatives so there can be uniform prices and hours as enjoyed by the trade union members under the government monopolies.

Five-Year Plans. — When farm lands were confiscated during the Revolution they were cultivated inefficiently and there was a shortage of food for the city dwellers. Food was demanded at comparatively low prices by the government for the industrial classes of the cities. A drought added to the scarcity, and in 1921 several millions starved to death.

With this breakdown Lenin established the New Economic Policy (N.E.P.) which allowed private industries. It was to be temporary and he called it a "strategic retreat." Foreign capitalists were granted lumber, gold, manganese, oil, and other concessions for limited periods. But under the various Communist restrictions practically all of these concessioners lost money. At any rate the New Economic Policy was a mere temporary expedient to get money quickly; and in 1928 the new order gave way to the Five-Year Plans.

The First Five-Year Plan (1928 to the end of 1932) was to increase the output of farm, mine, and factory by importing machinery and technicians to teach the use of it; and by inspiring workers to do their utmost. Power was developed, railroads built, factories installed, and farms consolidated.

The Second Five-Year Plan (January, 1933, to December, 1937) was to master the new technique, new factories, and new methods. Speed was emphasized.

The Third Five-Year Plan (January, 1938, to December, 1942)

was to increase consumption goods — the comforts and even luxuries of life. Quality rather than quantity was emphasized. These plans have accomplished much, but Russia has a long way to go before catching up to the productive efficiency of western Europe and the United States of America.

Dictatorship. — Representatives of the Communist Party frankly admit dictatorship, but claim that it is in the interest of nine tenths of the people and that Russia is gradually evolving into a democracy — as evidenced by the Constitution of 1936.

Not only are production and distribution at home and exports and imports from abroad managed in every detail, but the individual's movements are likewise regulated. Each Russian has a passport which he carries with him; and if he wants to go to another town he must obtain official approval, which is not always easy to get. Leaving the country, except on a government mission, is almost impossible.



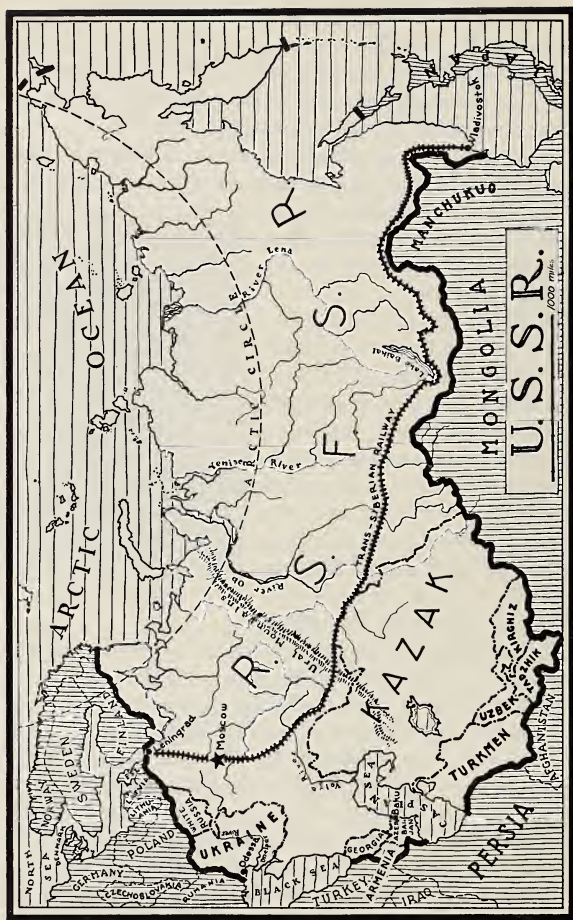
JOSEPH STALIN

The fees charged are prohibitive for most people, and they cannot take any appreciable possessions with them.

Freedom of speech, press, radio, stage, education, and religion are restricted in ways almost inconceivable to an American. One cannot buy and sell for profit. He can sell only what he himself produces or what his Collective produces.

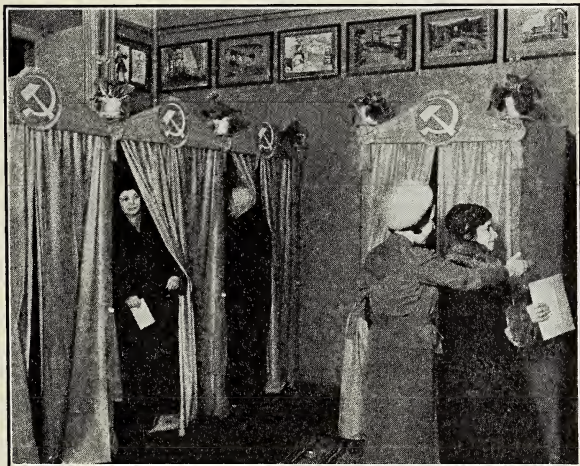
The worst phases of a dictatorship are the constant dangers of imprisonment or death sentence for political offenses. The dictator and his aides are always suspicious of conspiracies; and if anybody does any independent thinking along political lines he never retires with the assurance that he will not be carried from his family to prison during the night.

Organization of the Government under the 1936 Constitution. — *Federation.* — The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics



RUSSIA AT THE OUTBREAK OF WORLD WAR II.

(U.S.S.R.) is a socialist state of workers and peasants. It consists of eleven republics¹ of which the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (Russia proper) has about nine tenths of the area and two thirds of the population. The division of powers between the Union and the republican states is somewhat comparable to the division between the United States of



Sovfoto

FIRST ELECTION UNDER THE CONSTITUTION OF 1936

Russia now has universal manhood and womanhood suffrage for adults of eighteen and over. Voters in Russia are allowed to write their names on their ballots, which somewhat impairs the secret ballot.

America and the forty-eight states; but the Soviet Union has many more powers than the American Union. The powers not delegated to the Union are reserved to the member republics.

Suffrage is granted to men and women eighteen years of age and over, except the insane and persons denied suffrage by

¹ The eleven Union Republics are Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, White Russia, Ukraine, Turkmen, Uzbek, Tadzhik, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Armenia, Kazak, and Kirghiz.

sentence of court.¹ All elections are now conducted by secret ballot, instead of by a show of hands as in the past.

Nominations. — The right to nominate candidates is granted to Communist Party organizations, trade unions, co-operatives, youth organizations, and cultural societies. This provision



Sovfoto

RUSSIA'S "RED PARLIAMENT" CONVENES

A group of delegates of the Uzbek region at the first session of the new Soviet of Nationalities, representing all races in Russia, who were elected by their districts to represent the whole Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics in Moscow.

ties the government to the Communist Party as the organizations here listed are dominated by that Party.

Supreme Council. — The legislative organ of the U.S.S.R. is known as the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. It consists of two chambers: the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities. The Council of the Union is elected directly by the citizens of the U.S.S.R. for a term of four years from single-member districts on the basis of one member for every 300,000 of the population. The members of the Council of Nationalities are elected indirectly

by the legislative organs of member republics and regions² for the same term of four years.

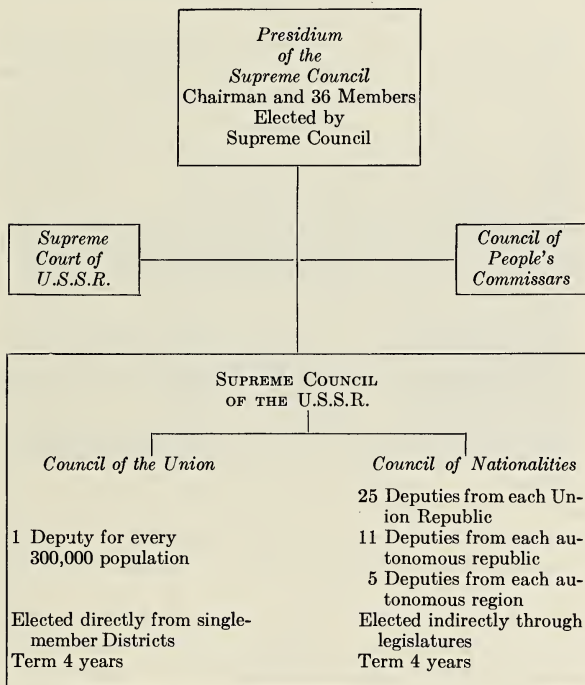
The Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. is convened by the Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. twice a year; and if the two chambers are unable to agree upon legislation this

¹ The vote may not be denied on account of "race, religion, standard of education, domicile, social origin, property status, or past activities."

² Ten members from each Union Republic, five from each autonomous republic, and two from each autonomous region. Autonomous republics are parts of the eleven Union Republics. Autonomous regions are "Home Rule" territory of the Union Republics or even of autonomous republics.

Presidium dissolves the Chambers and fixes the time for new elections.

GOVERNMENT OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS



The *Presidium of the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R.* is elected at a joint sitting of the two Chambers and serves until a new Supreme Council is elected. It consists of 37 members, including the Chairman. The Presidium interprets existing laws by issuing appropriate orders; holds referendums on its own initiative or on the demand of one of the Union Republics;

annuls such decisions and orders of the Council of People's Commissars of the Republics as do not conform to law; ratifies treaties; appoints and removes diplomatic representatives and the high command of the armed forces; and grants pardons. The Presidium thus performs many functions assigned to the President of the United States of America.

The Council of People's Commissars is the highest executive and administrative organ of the Union. The members are chosen by the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. and are responsible to it. Choice by the Supreme Council probably means ratification of names presented by the person put forward by the Communist Party to head the government. As an illustration of the responsibility of the Commissars as a whole or of any individual Commissar, any member of the Supreme Council may address a question to the Council or a member and the question must be answered either orally or in written form within three days.

The Council of People's Commissars includes a Chairman, the heads of the various administrative departments of the Union, and also Commissars to co-ordinate important functions left to the republics (states).¹

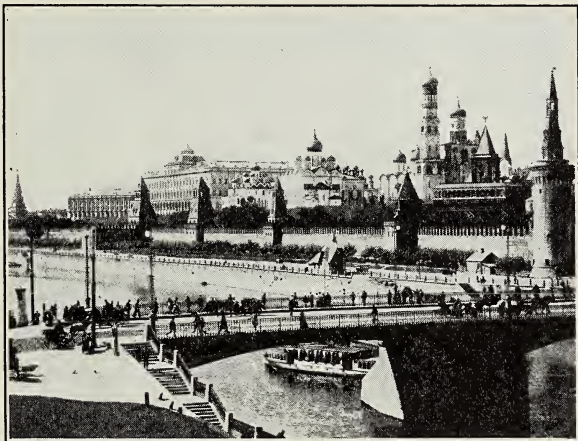
The Communist Party.—Though suffrage is extended to most people over eighteen years of age, and though non-Communists may be elected to office, the policies of the government are determined by members of the Communist Party, which consists of about 3,000,000 members.² To gain membership in this party one must agree to serve the country, pledge himself to the principles of the Communist Party, including atheism, and not accept an exorbitant salary or wage.³ Expulsions from the Party are very common.

¹ Commissars of Food Industry, of Light Industry, of Lumber Industry, of Agriculture, of State Grain Farms, and of Finance.

² In March, 1939, Joseph Stalin, General Secretary of the Communist Party, said that there were 1,600,000 members and from 500,000 to 750,000 candidates for membership. There were also 8,000,000 Young Communists and 11,000,000 Pioneers.

³ Officials may receive free rent, railroad passes, automobile service, and other perquisites; and writers are allowed to retain a proportion of royalties.

This Party has governed continuously since the Revolution of October, 1917. Until his death in 1924 Nikolai Lenin was leader of the party. Now Josef Stalin is leader. Two factions of the party developed, with Stalin leading the majority and Trotsky the minority. A second party is not tolerated, so



THE KREMLIN IN MOSCOW

Galloway

This is the old Acropolis of Moscow, a kind of fortress which contains the Imperial Palace and Cathedral of the Czars where they continued to be crowned even after Peter the Great built the capitol at St. Petersburg (now Leningrad). The Kremlin is the peacetime center of the Soviet government.

Trotsky was expelled from the Party in 1927 but allowed to leave Russia. Trotsky advocated a world revolution, but Stalin centers his efforts on communism, or now really socialism, within Russia.¹

¹ In this connection a brief explanation should be made of three international organizations closely associated with the Communist Party. The *First International* was organized as an international workingmen's association in 1864 by Karl Marx. It held several congresses but was dissolved in 1876. In 1889 the *Second International* was organized at Paris, and in 1900 an international socialist bureau was created with certain propagandist functions. Though the *Second International* was disrupted by the World War, it was reconstructed by the more conservative labor and socialist

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Lenin-Trotsky Attitude. — Karl Marx believed that the privileged well-to-do of Europe would not sacrifice their advantage in the interest of the common welfare without fighting, and moreover that communism would not succeed if applied to only one nation. Lenin and Trotsky seem to have held the same view and to have endeavored to bring about a general European revolt of the proletariat. The Third International was the propagandizing agent for this purpose. With world revolution in view, Russia was naturally not interested in the League of Nations as dominated by the capitalistic nations; and it was not strong enough for imperialistic conquest. Russia announced its willingness to co-operate in real disarmament; but to the capitalistic nations it was apparent that a general disarmament would play into the hands of the communists.

World War II. — In 1939 when Great Britain and France endeavored to stop Hitler, Russia was expected to side with them because of Hitler's threats of conquest in southern Russia. But Russia had no special desire to save Poland which contained many Russians, and if Hitler struck regardless of the encirclement, Russia would stand much of the brunt because the Allies could not get through the German defenses to help. So Russia agreed to supply Germany with raw materials; Russia was granted the eastern portion of Poland; occupied her bordering Baltic states and established naval bases; seized part of Finland, and took Bessarabia and part of Bucovina from Rumania.

When Stalin put forth greater efforts to arm Russia than to supply materials to Germany, Hitler decided that he had better strike Russia before it was better prepared. So, in Hitler fashion, the Germans marched into Russia without warning, in

elements in 1919. But the more radical socialists convened at Moscow and under the leadership of the Russian Communist Party organized the *Third International*. The aim of the *Third International* is to "unite the efforts of all revolutionary parties of the world proletariat" and thus to facilitate a communist revolution on a worldwide basis. The Russian Communist Party carries on foreign propaganda through the *Third International*.

June, 1941. They overran much of the richest part of Russia, but they could not destroy the Russian army. After suffering cruelly during the long Russian winter, they penetrated to Stalingrad in the summer of 1942. Here the Russians defeated them, driving them back across the Don, and also raising the siege of Leningrad in the north.



PM

THE AXIS BATTLE FRONTS

The map above shows the battle fronts on May 10, 1943. Day by day changes are shown on maps which appear in the newspapers.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. How does the present socialistic constitution of Russia differ from the former communistic constitution in regard to the following: (1) the ownership of property, (2) the sale of produce grown on home plots, (3) basis of pay for work done, and (4) salaries?
2. Explain how industry is conducted in Russia through government monopolies as to the following: (1) profits, (2) prices, (3) in relationship to public corporations in the United States.
3. In Russia is social security provided for city industrial workers, farmers, or both?

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4. Describe Collective Farms in Russia as to the following : (1) how land was previously distributed, (2) what the farmers were required to give to the Collectives when they were formed, (3) the government of the Collectives, (4) how the members of the Collective are paid for their work, (5) what the Collective owns and what it rents, (6) who opposed the Collectives, (7) what concessions the government has had to make to the dissatisfied members, and (8) what fraction of the Russians live on farms.

5. What kind of industry is operated as co-operatives instead of monopolies ; and what is the purpose of these co-operatives?

6. Explain what was attempted under each of the Five-Year Plans.

7. Name the restrictions of liberty in Russia under the dictatorship.

8. Describe the government of Russia under the 1936 constitution as to the following : (1) federation, (2) suffrage, (3) nominations, (4) supreme council, (5) presidium, (6) council of people's commissars.

9. Describe the Communist Party of Russia as to the admission of members, the expulsion of members, and the controversy between Stalin and Trotsky.

10. What is the aim of the Third International?

11. Explain the international relations of Russia as to the attitudes of Lenin, Trotsky, and Stalin.

12. What are the present relations of Russia with Germany? the United States?

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Pure communism has failed in Russia and the country is now experimenting with socialism. Why did communism fail in Russia, as elsewhere?

2. Propaganda by the Third International is a serious menace in any country where there is injustice, poverty, or despair. Does best security lie in education, justice, and a sympathetic social order, or in suppression?

3. To what extent is the Tennessee Valley Authority like the government monopolies of Russia? Advance arguments for and against the T.V.A. or government-owned utilities in general.

4. Do more people in Russia have social security than in the United States? Are the social security benefits larger in the United States or in Russia?

5. In general are farms more efficiently operated when they are large or when they are small?

6. Previous to the 1936 constitution, Russians voted through their labor organizations on a vocational basis. Under the 1936 constitution

suffrage is direct and secret. Why, do you suppose, was the change made?

7. Explain what a wit had in mind when he penned the following :

Socialism : You have two cows and give one to your neighbor.

Communism : You have two cows and give both to the government ; and it gives you the milk.

Fascism : You keep the cows and give the milk to the government and the government gives part of the milk back.

Naziism : The government shoots you and takes the cows.

New Dealism : The government shoots one cow, milks the other, and pours the milk in the river. (Republican point of view.)

New Dealism : You have two cows and can't use all the milk, so the government takes part of the milk and makes it available for those who have no pasture. (Democratic point of view.)

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CHAPTER XXII

SOME INTERESTING RESULTS OF RUSSIA'S SOCIAL REVOLUTION

EDUCATING THE YOUTH TO COMMUNISM OR SOCIALISM

Introduction. — No institution can perpetuate itself without capturing the youth. Realizing this truth, the Communist Party and the Department of Education are training millions of youth for communism or socialism. The leaders say that the purposes of this training are :

- (1) self-control and rigid self-discipline so that their lives may be examples to all young people everywhere ;
- (2) preparation for membership in the Communist Party ;
- (3) development of the strongest possible Russia ;
- (4) creation of an international mind ; and
- (5) preparation for defense of the state.

Under the Old Régime two thirds of the children were not sent to school. The thatched log house was not comfortable. The father, often drunk, did not spare the rod, and many children ran away from home.

During the War and Revolution parents were killed in battle, died of starvation, or the thatched house burned ; and many children were set adrift. Therefore, following the Revolution there were nearly half a million homeless children — or “wild children” as they were not inaptly called.

Today the child gets the best of everything, including clubs, play, and fun ; and he is made to feel that he is a person of importance in the community. The best positions are given to young people reared under the communist régime ; and children tend to place the state above the parents. Hard and sad have been the lot of parents who have not followed the

propagandized views of their children regarding politics and religion.

Youth Organizations include Octobrists, Pioneers, and Young Communists.

Octobrists include boys and girls between eight and 10. The name was given because at first only children born after the October Revolution of 1917 were eligible. These youngsters



THE "WILD CHILDREN" OF RUSSIA

The World War and Revolution produced several hundred thousand homeless children in Russia outside of government orphanages. Homeless children are now cared for in government institutions.

are usually organized by the Pioneers. They are of a receptive age for Communist missionary work.

Pioneers are boys and girls from 10 to 16. Roughly they correspond to Boy Scouts and Camp Fire Girls in America. They have clubhouses — sometimes extremely nice ones for Russia — and a variety of youth activities. They are taught and inspired to work for socialism and the state. All sorts of public chores are assigned them.

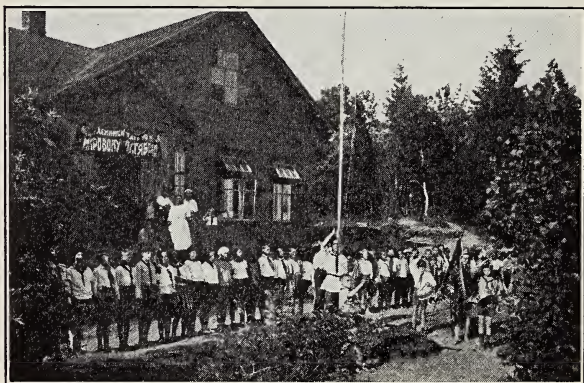
Young Communists (Consomols)¹ are young men and women between the ages of 16 and 23. They help train the Octobrists

¹ Consomols is pronounced cōn'sō mōls.

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and Pioneers and do any kind of work calculated to promote communism, or socialism now. For instance, thousands of them worked on the Moscow subway after school hours. In fact, they did this work almost to a fault — to the neglect of their studies. The most promising of the Young Communists are accepted into the Communist Party, which runs the country.

Morals of Youth. — At the time of the Revolution when the church and moral standards were being overthrown, many



PIONEERS' CAMP IN THE SUBURBS OF MOSCOW

Note that the boys and girls are together as they are in all Communist clubs and orphanages.

young people — and older ones too — engaged in a riot of amatory adventure in the belief that adherence to old convictions was somehow counter-revolutionary. Lenin never subscribed to these views, and the early Communist leaders were really puritanical: they opposed card playing, dancing, smoking, and drinking, as well as sex immorality. But a nation's morals have to be watched as well as its treasury, and in Russia the Communists broke from church influence.

Like the Communist Party, the Young Communists have periodic "purges" of undesirable members. For instance, in 1938 five high officials of the organization were expelled for

having shielded "double dealers" who were "morally corrupt" and "inveterate drunkards." At the same time the official organ of the Young Communists condemned laxity in youthful morals. "Easy" young women and "vulgar" young men were condemned. Letters were featured from girls complaining about "Don Juans" who had loved and left them. Concern was expressed over the Soviet equivalent to jitterbugs, for large portions of the Russian youth have gone dance-crazy over the rumba, tango, and other bourgeois steps.

CHANGED POSITION OF WOMEN

Under the Czarist Régime the husband could legally chastise his wife; and among the uncultured masses it was not uncommon for a drunken husband to whip his wife. It was likewise customary for the women to work along with the men in the field at the most arduous labor.

Under the New Régime wife-beating is unlawful and woman has absolute legal, social, economic, and political equality. Either woman or man can obtain a divorce for a nominal price without the consent of the other. Women are educated for every vocation or profession. Women become machinists or doctors in great numbers. They likewise work in factories of every sort; they work as section hands on railroads; and in the fields they work beside the men, or while the men rest. Women have the same voting right as men, and in great numbers hold every sort of political position, such as managers of Collective Farms, members of legislative bodies, and ambassadors. One of the first Russian ships to visit the United States was captained by a woman. Because of low wages it is usually necessary for both man and wife to have jobs or positions.

The Revolution in Marriage and Divorce was as radical as in government, economics, and religion. Man and woman could live together with or without marriage, and children born out of wedlock were not illegitimate. Prostitution became rampant. Abortions were common and legal. A divorce was as easy to get as a pound of coffee, and was cheaper. The family was considered unimportant; the state all-important.

The mistake has been discovered, and today an effort is being made to re-establish the home with better moral standards. Professional prostitution is rather effectively forbidden. Abortions are now illegal, except by special permit where mental or



STALIN ASKS FOR 100,000,000 SOVIET BABIES

physical conditions make it advisable. Couples are given inducements to record marriage; divorces are more expensive; and excessive trial marriages are made criminal. In the words of the author's interpreter (1936), "It is now illegal to marry five times in one year." She meant that excessive marriages show promiscuity and improper intentions and are again condemned by public opinion and law. The government now wants legal marriages and children born in wedlock. It

wants 100,000,000 babies to populate the country with communists or socialists before German Nazis or Japanese get there; and that cannot be accomplished by divorces and abortions.

SOCIAL WELFARE

Education. — In 1914 only 7,800,600 children regularly received education. In 1936 it was 27,303,000. Elementary and secondary education are free; but a small charge is made for the textbooks, and one or two meals served to the children are charged to the parents in proportion to their ability to pay. There is a scarcity of books and of school houses, and of qualified teachers.

Before the World War only about 33% of the population could read. Now ninety-odd per cent of the children are taught to read.

One cannot take a course in a university without the consent of the government; and few can afford a higher education except those loyal to the Communist Party, who receive scholarships which pay the students in proportion to their accomplishments.

Higher education is technical rather than liberal, except on the side in night courses. From the first year in school until the last the student is drilled in the superiority of the communistic or socialistic system to all others.

Care of Mothers and Children.

— As most Russian women in cities have to work in factories, mothers are off with pay for two months before childbirth and two months after. A free layette, free doctor's care, and in the cities free maternity hospitalization are provided for most women. Nurseries and kindergartens, where working mothers leave their children during the day, are very common.

Russia is spending billions of rubles a year to encourage large families.

Health. — In Russia there are many free homes supported by the government for the recuperation of unhealthy children; and most city children are sent to camp for a couple of weeks in summer. Sanitation — so much needed in Russia — is almost a fetish with the Communists. The author visited a large city dairy containing a beauty parlor where all employees are required to have a hair-wash and manicure once a week.



RUSSIAN ATHLETES

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Recreation. — Factory workers get two weeks' vacation with pay; and most of them have access to a free camp. Labor unions commonly have rest homes for a limited number of their members whose physical condition demands special consideration.

Each city is supposed to have a "Dynamo Park" for athletics: a stadium if possible, a track, fields for various athletics, and sometimes a dance pavilion. Each city is also supposed to have a "Park of Culture and Rest." In Moscow is a very attractive one extending about four miles along the river. It is a cross between a chautauqua and a Coney Island. There are lectures, plays, and secluded spots for reading; and there are bathing, folk dancing, a band concert, a parachute jump, and various other amusements.

Prisons. — In Russia liberty is at a premium because hundreds of thousands are arrested for political offenses that would not be crimes in the United States. Many are sent to concentration camps, often accompanied by the family. They are put to work on public projects and paid wages. Many of these camps are near the large cities where they can be supervised by responsible persons and are conducted without unnecessary hardships. On the other hand, many are sent to Siberia at convict labor, where the climate is oppressive and the taskmasters inconsiderate or actually cruel.

For ordinary prisoners of the less dangerous type there are a number of prisons run in an ideal manner for the purpose of reformation. There are factories and field work where the prisoners receive pay and circulate as trusties. Here they can marry and rear children; and when the term expires a number are allowed to remain "in prison."

Prisons of this latter type and concentration camps do not need high walls and strong guards. Simply take the passport from a Russian and he can't get far without being arrested and made to account for himself for not having his passport. One cannot get room and board without showing his passport. And he cannot move from one town to another without the consent of an official.

RELIGIOUS SITUATION

In Czarist Russia there were many religions, including Christianity, Judaism, Mohammedism, and Buddhism. The dominant group was the Orthodox Greek church which was supported by the government. This Greek church had beautiful religious edifices. The ritualistic services — especially on holy days — were impressive; and the music was unsurpassed. The spiritual devotion of millions made their trials the easier to bear; and the household ikons brought peace to troubled souls.

But the Russian church was steeped in medieval mysticism; and in rural districts scientific methods were often retarded by superstition. God was viewed as a sort of Santa Claus who was to give good weather, and miraculous gifts; and Christ was not a person but a mythical being. In some communities instead of building irrigation plants congregations would parade through the fields with religious banners imploring God to water their land. As the church was supported by the state, the priests were not allowed to criticize the selfishness of those in authority, so there was little preaching. Likewise, as the priests were not dependent upon their members for their support, many of them lived in a manner that would not be tolerated by self-supporting congregations in America. The church carried on little moral education, and the sight of a drunken priest was not uncommon. Moreover, some priests were associated with cruel uprisings against the Jews, and they were commonly intolerant of the Protestant or Roman Catholic sects.

Under the Bolshevik Revolution the church remained loyal to the former bourgeois régime because it opposed the revolutionary method of reform, because it was supported by the old régime, and because it was well aware of the opposition of the new régime to religion. The Bolsheviki were known to be a radical, revolutionary, atheistic group. These Bolsheviki accepted Karl Marx's dictum that "religion is the opiate of the masses" to keep them under spiritual influence so they will not demand by force a greater proportion of the material comforts. (In America's voluntary churches, religion has been

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the opposite of an opiate. It has been an inspiration to millions.)

After the Revolution the Baptists and Evangelicals were at first given more freedom than under the old régime; and with this new freedom, they began to gain many converts. Then the Communists turned on these sects ("Sectarrians") because they were succeeding in converting youths. This interfered with enthusiasm for the Communist idealism. These sects were commonly better, cleaner, and more prosperous than their Bolshevik neighbors, and many of their firm convictions were opposed to Communist ideas. The Communists feared that the dogma of the Baptists and Evangelicals might interfere with the world revolution idea; that their clannishness would interfere with the classless society ideal; that the prosperous Protestants' desire for private property would keep them from co-operating in the Collectives; and that the Protestant church might become a city of refuge for a counter-revolution. Therefore the atheist movement directed its attack against this religion which made an appeal, and which would succeed if given freedom.

By 1936 there were fewer than 20,000 Greek churches functioning in Russia, and fewer than 3000 Protestant congregations. The Communist Party opposed all religion — good or bad. The better the religion the more it competed with the Communist youth organizations and with a sort of religious fervor for the ideals and onward march of communism.

The 1936 Constitution provided for "freedom of religious worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda"; but not for the freedom of religious propaganda. Believers are excluded from membership in the ruling Communist Party, which means that they are automatically disbarred from many posts of authority and responsibility. A church cannot teach religion to children until they are eighteen years of age; but they are taught atheism from the time they enter day school. A preacher is not allowed to preach in more than one place, and even in that place his sermons are closely watched by Communists.

Today the Communists are more indifferent to religion than

aggressively opposed to it. In Moscow only two churches were open Christmas, 1941 ; but Christmas, 1942, found twenty open. And on New Year's, 1943, greetings were exchanged between Premier Stalin and the acting Patriarch of the Orthodox Church.

MONEY

History of the Ruble. — World War I was a strain on the ruble, which was originally worth about 52 cents in gold. The revolutions and international wars, which were financed by more and more paper rubles, finally made the ruble mere waste paper. Then a new 52-cent ruble was established. But under pressure of deficits in government-managed enterprises and of demand for new capital, the printing presses worked excessively and again the ruble was worth only a small fraction of its original value.

Present Purchasing Power of the Ruble. — Rubles are not legally taken out of the country or brought into the country, and they are not listed on any foreign exchange ; but on January 1, 1936, the government fixed an exchange rate of five rubles to the dollar. Therefore tourists in Russia paid 20 cents at the banks for rubles, but on the "black exchange" (up some dark alley) they can at times be purchased for five cents from persons desiring to escape from Russia with money that they can use outside of Russia. The real purchasing power, in terms of what an American would buy with his money, was about 10 cents. On this 10-cent comparative basis bread was as cheap in Russia as here ; rent, such as there was, was cheaper there ; but on the other hand, shoes were five times as expensive there as here ; and in central Russia one orange cost as much as a dozen in the United States. In 1941 rubles became almost worthless outside of Russia.

Wages in Russia. — Wages in Russia are very low in comparison with the United States. The unskilled worker in Russia receives about 200 rubles a month (\$20) plus several dollars which is paid into the social security fund. (Three fourths of the people live outside of cities and do not have this social security.) The piece-work system prevails in practically all

factories, and outstanding workmen may earn substantially above the average. Also the wife works as well as the husband, so there are two incomes; and there is work for all who wish to work under this managed society. A doctor earns from 500 to 1000 rubles a month; some college professors even more; an electrical engineer perhaps 2000 rubles a month; and what some government officials now receive is difficult to learn. Stalin has a fine estate for his retreat.

Private Wealth. — In Russia no one is wealthy. There is no profiteering. Only the producers can sell. Only the government can make a profit. If one saves his wages by denying himself the comforts, the government will soon have it back through high income taxes and inheritance taxes; or if he saves rubles his wealth will fade away as the ruble becomes worthless. However, after 1935 the purchasing power of the ruble remained rather constant until 1941.

WHY STALIN STOPPED HITLER

Communism Gave Way to Socialism. — When the Russian masses came into power as the result of the Revolution they were inefficient because untrained. Moreover, unselfishness is needed to make communism efficient, and no nation has yet shown the necessary degree of unselfishness. But when communism failed Stalin changed to socialism and paid workers according to the amount of work done — the piece-work basis. When the Collective Farm failed to hold the interest of the peasants he allowed them to work small pieces for themselves. Stalin made practical changes and held the loyalty of the people.

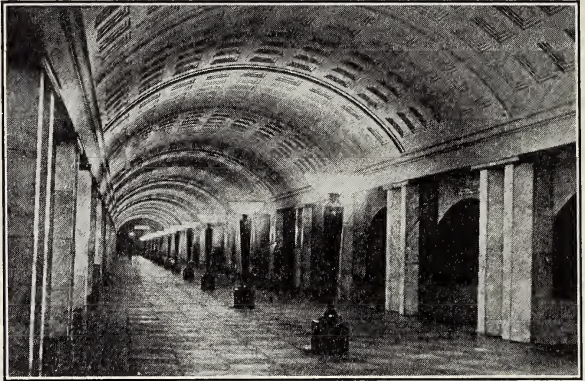
The Revolution Gave the Communists, or Socialists, a Fanatical Fighting Faith. — The younger generation, especially, has been taught to sacrifice all for the ideals of the Revolution and the state.

The Totalitarian State and the Dictator Have Taught Discipline, and War Needs Discipline. — The Soviet citizen has been learning discipline the hard way for the last quarter of a century. War demands deprivations. The generation that has grown up since the Revolution has known little else.

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War demands a high degree of common effort, and from the cradle to the grave the Soviet Russian has been mobilized for some form of public service.

The Country Became Industrialized. — The first Five-Year Plan developed power, built railroads, installed factories, and



MOSCOW SUBWAY

There has been much shoddy work done since the Revolution, but the subway with a number of marble stations is something of which Russia can be proud. There is a double tube which eliminates disagreeable concussion when trains pass. Much of the manual labor was performed by university young men and women.

consolidated farms. The second built new factories with new techniques, and emphasized speed. The third emphasized quality. When World War II hit Russia her industries clicked sufficiently to stop Hitler's mechanized divisions.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. In Russia what do the Communist Party leaders claim that their purposes are for training the youth?
2. Explain the condition of youth in Russia under the old régime, during the War and Revolution, and today.
3. Describe the Octobrists; the Pioneers; the Young Communists.
4. Explain the changed position of women in Russia.

5. Explain the changing attitudes towards marriage and divorce in Russia.
6. Explain the attitude towards education and its accomplishments in Russia.
7. Explain the Russian conditions regarding mothers and children, health, recreation, and prisons.
8. Explain the religious situation in Czarist Russia, under the Bolshevik Revolution, after the Revolution, and today.
9. Relate the history of the ruble. Also explain what wages are paid in Russia.
10. To what extent is private wealth being revived in Russia?
11. Why was Stalin able to stop Hitler?
12. What industrialization was emphasized by the first, second, and third Five-Year Plans?

PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION

1. In Russia the study of government is begun by children as soon as they enter school, but the courses are all prepared by the Communists as propaganda to unify the country in support of communism. Do you consider a nation justified in such a policy, or should it allow all kinds of political theory to be taught?

2. Do you consider the Russian government justified in appropriating money for preparing the "Octobrists," "Pioneers," and "konsomols" for membership in the Communist Party?

3. The success of communism implies the highest degree of good fellowship and cooperation. Russian communism advocated class struggle. The central teaching of the Christian religion is Love — "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." Which will survive?

4. Under communism children of former aristocratic parents, capitalists, kulaks, and priests were excluded from higher education. Now admissions to the universities is by merit and no one is asked about "class origin." Scholarships, formerly assigned to the neediest students, are now reserved for the brightest. Do you think the former system under Lenin or the present one under Stalin is the better?

5. The Russian paper ruble was originally worth 52 cents in gold. Now it is worth almost nothing outside of Russia. What effect would this fall in value have on foreign trade?

6. Some time ago many Russian leaders were accused of disloyalty and were shot ("liquidated"). Some people thought Stalin was seeking personal revenge; some that he feared for his regime; others that he wanted to get rid of the "old bolsheviks," who insisted on world revolution first; some that many prominent people, especially in the army, were betraying Russian secrets to the Germans. What do you think?

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7. From the Russian experiments have there been any developments which suggest reforms that could be made in the United States?

8. From the Russian experiments what have you learned that we should avoid in the United States?

9. Is progress usually made by the method of bloody bullets or peaceful ballots? By revolution or by planned evolution? By good will and co-operation or by hatred and strife?

10. The Russian Revolution established a five-day thirty-five hour work week; but in June, 1940, this was changed to a six-day forty-eight hour work week, with rest the seventh day. As a reason for this change the Russians pointed out that the British were busy ten hours a day turning out munitions, and that the Germans were working as long as sixteen hours a day doing the same, and that the defense of Russia necessitated a basic eight-hour day and six-day work week, or forty-eight hour week. What is the basic work week in the United States? Will the United States have to establish longer hours to build up its defenses? Unless the great powers can establish a sentiment and organization for peaceful adjustments will workmen become practically enslaved by states as they once were by individuals?

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CHAPTER XXIII

TURKEY BEING MODERNIZED

Historical Background. — The Turkish Empire rose to the height of its power through a long line of strong Sultans. For ten generations (1299–1566) without a break the Osman¹ (Ottoman) family produced great leaders.² Of this line Mohammed II³ (1451–1481) conquered Constantinople in 1453 and Suleiman I⁴ (1520–1566), called “The Magnificent,” conquered Hungary in 1526.

Vienna was besieged in 1529, and a Turkish admiral laid siege to Malta in 1565; but failure in these two latter enterprises indicated the end of Turkish progress westward. The huge empire, embracing many dissimilar peoples, crumbled under attacks from without and luxury and corruption within.

During the eighteenth century Hungary was lost to the Turks. Then followed the loss of the northern shore of the Black Sea. In the early part of the nineteenth century the Greeks and Serbs successfully rose against the Turks; and finally, by the Balkan war of 1912, the Turks were practically driven from Europe. The World War resulted in narrowing the boundaries of Turkey in Asia to what is commonly known as Asia Minor, Armenia, and Kurdistan.

The Young Turk Movement. — In 1876 the Sultan was forced to grant a constitution and a parliament; but the parliament immediately proved powerless, and between 1876 and 1909

¹ Osman is pronounced ôs'mân.

² The Osman dynasty continued from 1299 until the formation of the republic, October 29, 1923, but the later sultans were, with rare exceptions, weak, profligate, and tyrannical, giving themselves over more largely to the pleasure of the harem than to the performance of duty.

³ Mohammed is pronounced mō hām'êd.

⁴ Suleiman I (variation of Solyman) is pronounced sō'la măn'.

Sultan Abdul-Hamid II¹ held the reins exclusively in his own hands. He quickly rid himself of the paper constitution and made his palace, from which he seldom ventured, the one center of government.

By the Revolution of 1908 the Young Turks came into power and forced the reactionary Sultan to restore the constitution of



James Sawders

ANCIENT CITY OF CONSTANTINOPLE — CENTER OF THE TURKISH EMPIRE

The picture shows the Mosque of Ahmed I, the largest mosque in Constantinople.

1876. The Sultan was imprisoned and his brother, Mohamed V, was put in his place. Then began the rule of the Young Turks. To stimulate popular enthusiasm, scholars and writers formed clubs, published books, and held celebrations to revive Turkish hero worship. They endeavored to consolidate the power of all Mohammedanism under the direction of Turkey. Stimulated by the desire for economic autonomy, they perse-

¹ Abdul-Hamid is pronounced äb'dööl-hä mēd'.

cuted, boycotted, and expelled Greek and Armenian traders and shopkeepers. They tried to suppress the liberties of the Greek church, and sought forcibly to colonize Macedonia by bringing in Mohammedans from other parts of Turkey.

These events made Europe despair of a solution of the Turkish problem by the Turks. The Armenians wished to be free; Czar Ferdinand of Bulgaria proclaimed his country entirely detached from Turkish rule; Austria formally annexed Bosnia; Italy seized Tripoli and forced Turkey to conclude peace in 1912. The same year the Balkan states banded together and threw Turkey almost out of Europe. Instead of bringing good will and fraternity, the Young Turks brought redoubled hatred and war, and they set in motion a series of events which, through the Balkan wars, led to the World War of 1914-1918.

World War I. — During the nineteenth century Russia and Great Britain were rivals, and the British protected Turkey against Russia. But by the end of the century Germany had supplanted Great Britain as the protector of Turkey. On all occasions the German Kaiser endeavored to ingratiate himself with the Turks. In 1898 at Damascus he said: "The three hundred million Mohammedans who live scattered over the globe may be assured of this, that the German Emperor will be their friend at all times."

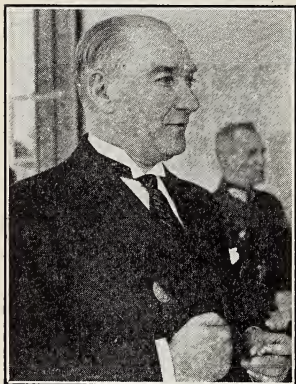
When World War I came Germany seems to have convinced the Turks that German success was assured; that the perpetual menace to Turkey from Russia might be removed; and that India and other Moslem countries might be kindled into the flame of infinite possibilities for the Caliphate¹ of Constantinople. Thus the Turkish authorities believed that Turkey would emerge from the War the one great power of the East as Germany would be the one great power of the West.² Therefore, Turkey was

¹ Caliphate is pronounced kāl'ī fāt.

² At the beginning of the War two German warships (the *Goeben* and the *Breslau*, which narrowly escaped capture by the pursuing Allies) entered the Dardanelles and were declared to be bought by Turkey. At the same time England had commandeered two Turkish dreadnaughts which had just been completed in English shipyards. These ships had been ordered by Turkey at great sacrifice and she desired them immediately because of

dragged into World War I on the side of Germany and contributed considerable strength to the central allies.

During the War France and England secretly agreed that Rus-



KEMAL ATATURK ³

He was the first president and dictator of Turkey.

sia should annex Constantinople and the adjacent territory. They also agreed that France was to administer Syria but England should administer Mesopotamia. As an inducement for Italy to enter the War, England, France, and Russia promised Italy "a just share of the Mediterranean region adjacent to the province of Adalia."¹ Italy construed this to mean the right to annex the southern third of Anatolia.² Had all of these expectations been fulfilled, Turkey would have consisted only of the northern half of Anatolia.

But Russia, by becoming Bolshevik, forfeited her claims to Constantinople; and during the temporary withdrawal of Italian delegates from the Paris Peace Conference, the Greeks were authorized to seize Smyrna.

her strained relations with Greece. As the Turks had already sent their crews to man these vessels, they were bitterly disappointed, and their resentment was probably a factor in bringing Turkey into World War I on the side of Germany.

¹ Adalia is pronounced ä dä'lē'ä.

² Anatolia is pronounced än'ä tö'lī ä.

³ Kemal Ataturk means "father of all Turks," a name chosen in 1932 when all Turks were required to take family names. He was born Mustapha Kemal, to which Pasha was later added as a title like General.

Mustapha Kemal Pasha was a professional soldier from a Moslem family. He was born at Salonika, 1881, entered the military profession, became a member of the general staff, and took part in the Revolution of the Young Turks in 1909. In World War I he showed military genius but was kept in the background because of political jealousy. He commanded a division during the Gallipoli campaign and became a national hero.

Government. — Mustapha Kemal¹ (Kemal Atatürk) believed that the Turkish Parliament at Constantinople was dominated by unpatriotic traitors who were willing to sign the Treaty of Sèvres and see their country divided and occupied by the European Allies. Therefore, in the spring of 1919, when he was assigned to post-war military duty in Anatolia, he seized the opportunity of building up a strong patriotic party by starting the Nationalist movement.



THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY

This map includes the Smyrna district regained from the Greeks but excludes the territory lost as a result of World War I.

Some of the Allies, disturbed by this revival of Turkish nationalism, and perhaps fearing that Italy was planning to seize Smyrna, encouraged the Greeks to send an expedition to Turkey. In May, 1919, the Greeks occupied Smyrna and were accused of having mistreated unarmed Turks. Immediately the flickering spark of Turkish nationalism was fanned into a fierce flame of anger and patriotism. Whole provinces flocked to Kemal's standard.

On July 11, 1919, Damid Ferid,² the principal minister of the Sultan-Caliph,³ declared Kemal an outlaw, and dispatched a makeshift army against him. But when the peasants, ordinarily

¹ Mustapha Kemal is pronounced möös'tä fä kë mäl'.

² Damid Ferid is pronounced dä'mēd fē rēd'.

³ Sultan-Caliph is pronounced sül'tān-kā'lif.

docile and obedient, found that this so-called Army of the Caliphate was composed partly of Greeks and Armenians, they gave their support to Kemal. By so doing they broke a tradition of unswerving loyalty to the Sultan-Caliph, which was as old as Turkey itself.

To voice a protest against the proposed partition of Turkey and to decide on measures to be taken against the Greeks, Kemal summoned a congress, composed of representatives of the various defense organizations of Anatolia, to meet at Erzerum in September.

Two months later a second congress composed of duly elected delegates assembled at Sivas and laid the real foundation for the Nationalist movement by forming a National Council of twelve members which was to sit in continuous session at Angora. This Council enacted the National Pact; and this document demanded the unqualified recognition of the political, judicial, and economic independence of Turkey, which was to comprise the whole of Asia Minor and eastern Thrace. To Ferid's dismay the Nationalist movement had so spread that the pact was also adopted by the Parliament in Constantinople, January 28, 1920.

On April 11 the British suppressed the Turkish Parliament at Constantinople and deported to Malta some forty Nationalist deputies and more than a hundred other persons. This unwise move on the part of the British gave the Nationalists the very excuse they needed for convening a new Parliament at Angora.

On April 23 the new Parliament convened at Angora under the title of the Grand National Assembly and under the Presidency of Kemal. It declared itself the sole lawful government of Turkey and enacted the constitutional law which provided for a unique government that was neither a constitutional monarchy nor a republic. It retained a shadowy allegiance to the Sultan as Caliph of Islam but his temporal powers, as Emperor of the Ottomans, were abolished. Thus ended an empire and a dynasty which, beginning with Osman, had shaped the destinies of Turkey for upward of six hundred years.

The Treaty of Sèvres was communicated to Ferid on May 11,

1920. It proposed to turn over to Greece European Turkey almost to the gates of Constantinople and to place a broad zone of territory on both sides of the Straits under international control, and to put the remainder of Turkey under the permanent military, financial, and economic control of the Allies. Though there was no longer a parliament in Constantinople, Ferid summoned eighty prominent Turks and went through a mock ratification. But it was known that the Grand National Assembly, which was now the *de facto* government of Turkey, would never sign it.

The war between the Kemal forces and the Greeks continued until the Turks remained in undisputed mastery of Anatolia. The beaten Greeks, soldiers and civilians alike, were ruthlessly thrown out of Asia; the shadowy Ottoman government in Constantinople evaporated; the Sultan-Caliph, deposed by a decree of the Grand National Assembly, fled from Constantinople on a British warship, and a new Caliph, possessing only spiritual authority, was elected in his stead.

From November, 1922, until July, 1923, negotiations between the Allies and the Turks, with just one interruption, continued at Lausanne and the Treaty of Lausanne was signed. This was revised in favor of Turkey at the Montreux Conference of 1936.

On October 13, 1923, Angora,¹ now called Ankara,² a small undeveloped city in Anatolia, was declared the capital of Turkey, and all departments of government, except the Director-Generalship of Customs, are now located there.

On October 29, 1923, the Assembly declared Turkey to be a republic. Of course, with the vast majority of the population unable to read and write and with the political inexperience of the masses, we cannot expect a true republic for some years, and should be content if the dictatorship evolves through an oligarchy to a real republic in a reasonable length of time.

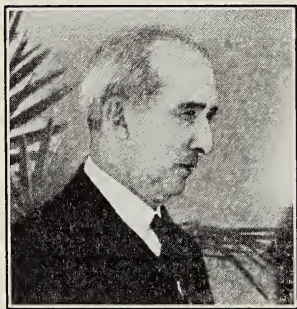
From the establishment of the republic until 1938 Mustapha Kemal was President of the country, and commander-in-chief of the army. The President is elected by the Assembly for a

¹ Angora is pronounced äng gō'rá.

² Ankara is pronounced äng'ká rá.

term of four years, which is identical with the term of the assemblymen. The direct administration is, to a great extent, carried through by the Prime Minister. Ismet İnönü,¹ who was Prime Minister almost continuously from the establishing of the republic in 1923, was unanimously elected President at the death of Atatürk in November, 1938.

General Ismet İnönü has been an outstanding Turkish statesman since the early movement for independence in 1919.



NEW PRESIDENT OF TURKEY

Dependable, strict, and efficient
İnönü is the successor to Atatürk.

Educated as a militarist, he served in the Balkan and World Wars, and was chief-of-staff of the Turkish army in the field and second only to Atatürk in the Greco-Turkish war. He represented Turkey at the Lausanne Conference, and much of the credit for the international recognition of Turkey for diplomatic strategy is given to him. As Prime Minister he has been directly responsible for the administration and execution of the

laws and reforms. It seems probable that there will be no change in the policies of modernizing Turkey even though the man who has been the dictator-guide is no longer in power. In personal life President İnönü is as strict as Atatürk was unbridled. In energy and determination he is a worthy successor.

In 1932 Turkey joined the League of Nations, and was elected to one of the non-permanent seats on the Council in 1934. In 1933 she restricted the growth of poppies and the manufacture of opiates.

On October 19, 1939, Turkey signed a 15-year pact with Britain and France, by which they agreed to come to each other's aid if involved in a war in the Mediterranean resulting

¹ İnönü is pronounced in'oe nuh.

from an act of aggression by any European power. This was a diplomatic victory for Britain and France, but it failed to keep Italy from opposing the Allies.

Signs of Progress. — The following are some of the recent changes in Turkey which no doubt will prove to be far-reaching.

The abolition of the Caliphate, which removed the menace of Pan-Islam.

The separation of the state from the domination of Islamism.

The closing of the old mosque schools, which were centers of fanatical teaching, and the reorganization and secularization of education.

The adoption of a new code of laws, patterned on the Swiss, repudiating the authority of Islam.

The branding of polygamy as illegal and the reorganization of the social life of Turkey on a basis of equality of the sexes.

Membership in League of Nations and strict observance of treaties.

Efficient, planned government economy, and adoption of the metric system.

The adoption of the western calendar, from the birth of Christ, instead of the Hegira of Mohammed.

Substitution of the Roman alphabet and characters for Arabic.

Extension of suffrage to women; and removal of the veil.

Abolition of the fez for the hat.

Adoption of family names. Until 1932 a woman was just "Fatima" and a man "Hussein," and the like.

Program for the Future. — In addition to these points, the program for the future, as set forth by the dominating Republican People's Party at its fourth congress in May, 1935, was accepted by the Grand National Assembly in February, 1937. The program includes:

1. Nationalism and democracy.
2. Evolutionism (adaptation to circumstances).
3. Laicism¹ (separation of state and religion).
4. Etatism² (state ownership or control of the principal means of communication, mines, public utility services, and other basic industries).

This program was adopted and included as a part of the constitution of the republic (if a one-party state with a dic-

¹ Laicism is pronounced lā'ī sīz'm.

² Etatism is pronounced ā'tā tīz'm.

tator can be called a "Republic"). This action commits the country to state socialism. But the transition from private ownership to public ownership by the evolutionary method will probably be a slow process.



FIRST FEMALE PARLIAMENTARY DEPUTIES IN TURKEY

Parliamentary suffrage was granted women in 1934, and in 1935 seventeen of the 400 members of the Assembly elected were women. Sixteen of these women were independent. One was a member of the Turkish National Party which supported Kemal Ataturk.

Handicapped by Poverty.—Turkey is larger than any country in Europe with the exception of Russia. Her size is three times that of Great Britain; but her population of 17,000,000 is only one third that of the British Isles. Yet Turkey cannot support her people. Few parts of the world are as barren as Turkey's interior provinces. Western and Central Turkey are largely desert; Eastern Turkey resembles our own rugged and barren Southwest; and only along the narrow coastal plains is there much profitable agriculture. And these coastal plains raising tobacco, cotton, oranges, wheat, and olives are most exposed to a foreign enemy and would be the first to be devastated in case of invasion.

Industrially, Turkey is just as badly off. Starting from scratch after World War I, and undergoing continuous war-

fare and revolution for ten years, her new industries are still in their infancy. Turkey's greatest pride are her new steel mills completed in 1940. While their production is sufficient for ordinary peacetime needs their production in an entire year is not more than an American industry produces in one day. And though Turkey may eventually mine as much copper, silver, petroleum, and coal as does the Rocky Mountain region, her mineral riches have hardly been tapped so far.

The people of Turkey are among the poorest of the world. About 80 per cent of her population are peasants and they have an average annual income of approximately \$28. This is only about one tenth of the income of our poorest sharecroppers. Moreover, Turkey has to import such a large part of her needs that living costs are high.

British and American Aid. — Turkey was on the verge of an economic crisis when World War II broke out. By 1938 she was relying on foreign help for her industrialization program; and 50 per cent of her exports went to Germany, who could pay for the goods only in blocked marks. At the outbreak of the War the German market collapsed. To prevent economic disaster Great Britain subsidized the Turks by purchasing Turkey's products. The British also financed the defense program; but in 1941 the British resources were so taxed for their own defense that the United States had to take over the financing of this strategic country by Lend-Lease aid. Munitions, transportation equipment, technicians, and military advisors were rushed to Turkey from the United States late in 1941.

Turkey's Diplomacy Respected. — Surprising as it may be, the Turks lost an Empire in World War I and gained a nation. Before the War there was no such a thing as a Turkish nation; it was a polyglot empire of divers peoples, but after the War the Young Turks set about to build a nation. Twenty years ago Turkey was the "Sick Man of Europe," but today she is the bastion against Naziism, the Eastern sentinel of democracy and freedom and one of the most respected small nations in the world.



Courtesy New York Times

STRATEGIC STRAITS

The Straits — collective name for the Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmara, and the Bosphorus — link the Aegean arm of the Mediterranean to the Black Sea, divide Europe from Asia, and have been a prize of empire from time immemorial. These Straits block the path to the rich oil fields of the Caucasus and to the passes of India. They also block the land route from Europe to the Suez Canal. They are important to Russia because they are her southern ice-free “window” on the outer world.

In the Gallipoli campaign of World War I it was demonstrated that the Straits could be defended from attack by sea; and recently Turkey has strengthened the defenses of the waterway. However, it is doubtful whether a combined attack by modern sea, land, and air forces could be repulsed.

THE BRITISH NEAR EAST

Strategic Importance of the Region to the British. — In the spring of 1941 the German and Italian troops overran the Balkan states, including Greece and the island of Crete. This left the Axis Powers within easy striking distance of the rich oil fields and transportation routes of the Near East. Turkey, notwithstanding her potential army of two million trained men, was not prepared to hold back an attack by mechanized forces of tanks and dive bombers. Even the light equipment that she did have had been made in Germany, Russia, or Czechoslovakia and she was unable to obtain the right kind of ammunition, spare parts, and replacements after World War II had started.

Syria was held by France, which had fallen before the Axis forces, and the British could not risk a German foothold anywhere that would menace the Suez Canal or the route to India. Neither could she afford to allow the rich oil fields to fall into the hands of the Nazis. When the Nazis were reported to dominate the French army in Syria and the Germans were apparently preparing for an invasion, the British, and the Free French under de Gaulle, outguessed the Germans and occupied Syria before the Germans could attack. German-inspired insurrections in Iraq and Iran also forced the British to occupy these countries. Germany, blocked in her attempts to reach the rich Persian oil fields, turned on Russia; but the British held the supply lines to Russia through Iran.

TERRITORIAL LOSS TO TURKEY BY WORLD WAR I

Introduction. — The Ottoman Empire never had a firm hold over the Arab provinces, and even before World War I the young Arabs, and especially those educated abroad, were agitating for a national Arab state or a federation of states. During the War, to enlist Arab aid against the Turks, British and French authorities held out bright hopes of an independent Arab confederacy. The British supported Husein,¹ Grand

¹ Husein is pronounced hōōs sīn'.

Sherif¹ of Mecca,² in becoming King of Hejaz,³ a country important chiefly because of the historic holy cities of Medina⁴ and Mecca.⁵ Then they placed his son, Emir Abdullah, on the throne of Trans-Jordan. They also made another son, Feisal,⁶ King of Irak (or Iraq), notwithstanding the fact that a French general had just driven Feisal out of Syria, where he was endeavoring to establish an Arab kingdom.

The warlike Ibn Saud,⁷ Sultan of Nejd⁸ and leader of a puritanical Moslem sect (the Wahabis), overthrew Husein⁹ and conquered Hejaz by 1925; incorporated Asir¹⁰ in 1930; and after defeating the troops of the Imam of Yemen,¹¹ made that country a protectorate by treaty in 1934. Thus Ibn Saud became overlord of practically all of south Arabia except Trans-Jordan. (See map on page 401.) In 1932 Ibn Saud changed his title from Sultan of Nejd to King of Saudi¹² Arabia (South Arabia). A treaty of friendship and arbitration with Trans-Jordan was signed in 1933, thus ending years of bitter strife. Ibn Saud, a ruler of strong character, unusual intelligence, and great diplomatic ability, has steadily consolidated his kingdom, though hampered by insubordination and tribal feuds.

Syria. — British and Arab troops freed Syria from Turkey just before the close of the World War; and with the consent of the British, Emir Feisal established himself in Damascus as virtual ruler of Syria. The Syrians desired independence and union with other Arab lands; but if Syria was to be mandated they preferred the protectorship of the United States,

¹ Sherif is pronounced shě rēf'.

² Husein, a descendant of Mohammed, was the guardian of the Holy places at Mecca, hence called Sherif.

³ Hejaz is pronounced hě jāz'.

⁴ Medina is pronounced mē dī'ná.

⁵ Mecca is pronounced mēk'á.

⁶ Feisal is pronounced fī'sāl or fā'sāl.

⁷ Ibn Saud is pronounced īb'n sá oōd'.

⁸ Nejd is pronounced nēzhd.

⁹ Husein had attempted to make himself Caliph of all Mohammedanism after the Caliphate was overthrown at Constantinople.

¹⁰ Asir is pronounced ä sēr'.

¹¹ Yemen is pronounced yēm'ēn.

¹² Saudi is pronounced sá oō'dē.



THE ARABIAN STATES

Courtesy of Current History

Ibn Saud rules the deserts of central Arabia. In 1925 he conquered Hejaz, which contains the holy city of Mecca, and he is now King of Saudi Arabia (Nejd and Hejaz). The second of his surviving sons is Viceroy of Mecca.

with Great Britain as their second choice. However, France demanded Syria as her share of the Turkish spoils, and in 1919 French troops were sent to replace the British army of occupation. An Arab congress met at Damascus in 1920 and elected Feisal king of Syria and Palestine; but the French general, Gouraud,¹ backed by 90,000 French soldiers, expelled Feisal from Syria.

¹ Gouraud is pronounced gōō'rō'.

A radical French Cabinet appointed General Sarrail¹ as High Commissioner of Syria. His hostility to the clergy antagonized the Christians, the only pro-French element in Syria, and by his arbitrary conduct he angered other groups. As a result a rebellion developed among the Druses,² who dwell east of Damascus. Sarrail's efforts to restore order by having his troops burn native villages and bombard the city of Damascus (October, 1925) caused the rebellion to spread to other parts of Syria. Sarrail was recalled, and a new French governor was appointed who used conciliatory methods.

The Mandates Commission of the League of Nations requested a special report on the insurrection. The Commission scored Sarrail for his "obstinacy," and his subordinate administrator of the Jebel Druses for "abuse of authority," and for the subjection of the Druses to "excessive demand in the form of forced labor." The French government made every effort to convince the Commission and the League Council that France intended to prepare Syria for self-government.

With the multiple racial and religious character of the people, France's problem of government was very difficult. But the Syrians also had such grievances as the substitution of the French franc, which depreciated, for Syrian gold; the failure of French judges to learn Arabic; and unnecessary harshness in suppressing revolts.

Self-Government Sought. — In 1936 a treaty of friendship and alliance was signed between France and Syria by which Syria was promised independence by 1939; but by 1938 the Italian demands for French colonies alarmed France and the French government refused to ratify this peace treaty. France needed naval bases in the eastern Mediterranean. The Syrians were disappointed and threatened the use of force to obtain independence. France was thus in a difficult position.

British Occupation. — In June, 1941, British forces marching in from Palestine and Transjordanian seized Syria and allowed the French soldiers to join the de Gaullists, thus blocking Hitler.

¹ Sarrail is pronounced sá'rā'y'.

² Druses is pronounced drōō'ziz.

The Sanjak¹ (District) of Alexandretta became autonomous under the French mandate of Syria. Its location makes it of great importance both to Syria and to Turkey; therefore in 1938 a League of Nations commission was arranging for the election of a constitutional assembly to decide whether the district should remain within the Syro-Lebanese federation or become Turkish. Before the election was held Turkish troops entered



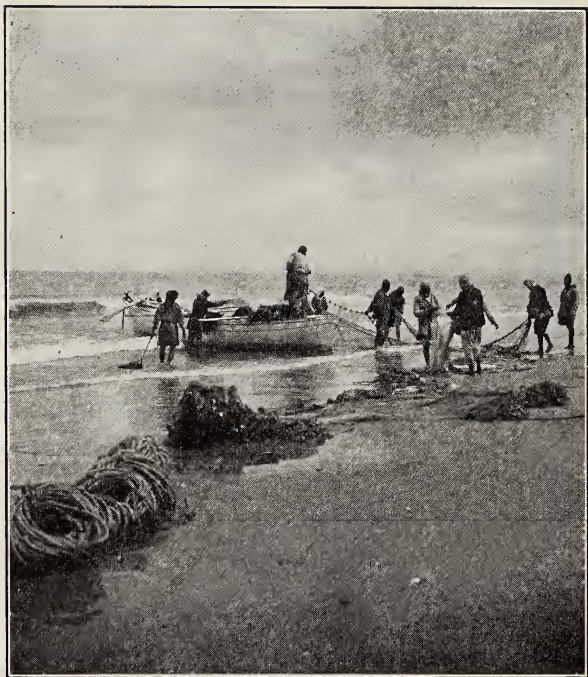
Courtesy of New York Times

PALESTINE AND NEIGHBORING STATES

the district "to help the French troops police the district." This invasion of the Turks made an impartial election impossible, so the League commission withdrew. It was a case of France sacrificing Syria and the League because it needed a friendly alliance with Turkey.

Palestine. — The British imperialists desired to secure control of Palestine as a strategic protection for the Suez Canal. And on November 2, 1917, Balfour pledged the British government

¹ Sanjak is pronounced sán'jāk'.



FISHERMEN ON THE BAY OF ACRE, PALESTINE
These men are following an ancient calling.

to aid the Jews to establish a Hebrew state in Palestine — the so-called Zionist movement. This promise naturally brought financial and other support from Jews throughout the world. But the Arabs, who constituted most of the population, are mostly Moslems and they made bitter protests, reminding Great Britain that she had promised to help them win their independence if they would revolt against Turkey — which they did. Thus Palestine became the “too-much promised land.”

In the mandate granted Great Britain by the League of Nations (promulgated in 1923), the “establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people” is provided, it being clearly understood that nothing would be done which would prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine.

At that time there were only about 60,000 Jews in Palestine. But the rich Jews of the world gave financial backing and the oppressed Jews of Germany and eastern Europe migrated in increasing numbers. The Jewish population now exceeds 400,000 in comparison with an Arab population of about 1,000,000.

The Jews bought farms in the most fertile section of Palestine and with great energy have developed agricultural colonies with the newest equipment and the latest methods of farming — in great contrast with the Arabs, who still use crude old-fashioned plows. The Jewish city of Tel Aviv¹ has wide new streets, airy buildings, and a most creditable university.

Jewish capital greatly enhanced the wealth of Palestine; but the Arabs have resented intrusion on their native soil. As an Arab expresses it: “You say we are better off: you say my house has been enriched by the strangers who have entered it. But it is my house, and I did not invite the strangers in, or ask them to enrich it, and I do not care how poor or bare it is if only I am master of it.”

The feeling of resentment became so bitter that racial riots were of frequent occurrence, and the British gave up hope of reconciling the racial animosities of the Arabs and Jews. The

¹ Tel Aviv is pronounced tēl'á vēv'.

British government; therefore, created a commission to investigate the Palestine situation; and the commission recommended dividing the country into a Jewish state, an Arab state, and a continued British mandated area to include the holy cities. The Mandate Division and the Council of the League of Nations gave their consent for the British to proceed with the plan. Neither the Jews nor the Arabs liked it. The Jews would rather have half a pie than none; but the Arabs resent the plan bitterly. The Jewish state would be only the size of Delaware and would have a boundary most difficult to police. On November 9, 1938, the British government announced that it had given up its plan for partitioning Palestine.

Trans-Jordan (Kerak), east of the Jordan River, has been given autonomy under Emir Abdullah.¹ However, he rules with the assistance of a British adviser, the support of British airplanes and armored cars, and the aid of a small British subsidy.

Iraq.—Mesopotamia, now known by its Arabic name, Iraq,² was occupied by the British during the World War, and was mandated to Great Britain in 1920. Arab Nationalist leaders desired the union or the confederation of the Arab states, and resented the subordination. During the years 1919–1920 the resentment took the form of a rebellion. The British proved to be conciliatory, and arranged an election for a king of a limited monarchy. Emir Feisal, who had been driven from Syria by the French, received 96 per cent of the votes. He was crowned king in 1921, and showed great tact and wisdom in dealing with

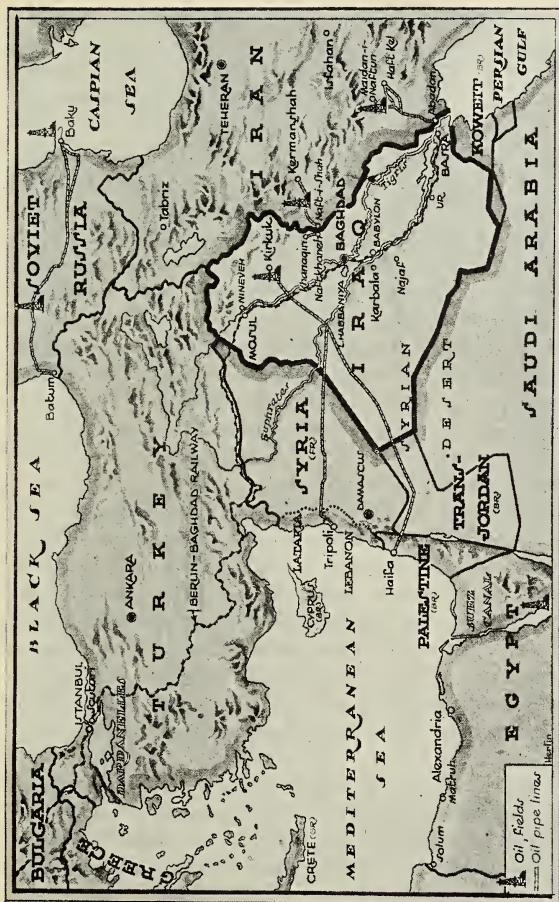


HIS MAJESTY

Three-year-old King Feisal II of Iraq succeeded to the throne on the death of his father King Ghazi in 1939.

¹ Emir Abdullah is pronounced ě mēr' äb dööl lä'.

² Iraq is pronounced ě'räk'.



Courtesy New York Times

IRAQ IS THE CROSSROADS OF THE CONTINENTS, JUNCTION OF MANY
LAND ROUTES

his subjects and the British until his death in 1933, when he was succeeded by his son, Ghazi ibn Feisal.¹ Feisal's son, Ghazi I, died in a motor accident after an undistinguished six-year reign. His grandson, Feisal, succeeded in 1939 at the age of three years and a regency rules the kingdom.

In 1925 Iraq gave concessions to British, American, French, and Dutch oil interests. They constructed pipe lines to Haifa in Palestine and to Tripoli in Syria. It cost \$54,000,000 and has a capacity of 30,000,000 barrels annually.

Under a treaty of 1930 Great Britain gave independence to Iraq in 1932. The treaty provides, however, that the English diplomat should have precedence over all others for 25 years from the latter date. Three air bases were leased to the British and protected by Iraq troops at British expense. The British mandate was replaced by a British protectorate.

When Hitler came into power in Germany he sent a Minister to Iraq who persuaded the Iraqi Government to employ Germans in technical and trade schools. Iraqi students were sent to Germany for training. Subsidies to newspapers and funds for anti-British propaganda were distributed. Most Iraqi preferred the light hand of the British for the unknown heavy fist of the Germans and the Italians; but in the summer of 1941 after Hitler had overrun the Balkans and was ready to invade the Near East for its oil and other natural resources the Nazi sympathizers staged a revolution in Iraq. The British, however, acted promptly; and in 1943, because of Axis diplomatic interference, Iraq declared war against Germany, Italy, and Japan.

The Baghdad Railway. — The 2000-mile railway from the Bosphorus to the Persian Gulf was the dream of the last German Kaiser, and the actual construction began in 1904 under a concession granted to the Germans by a Sultan of Turkey in 1902. It was known as the Berlin-to-Baghdad Railway. The German ambition to expand into the regions of this route was one of the causes of World War I; and when Germany was defeated the completion of the project was long delayed.

¹ Ghazi ibn Feisal is pronounced gā'zē īb'n fā'sāl.

As a queer coincidence, the first through train ran from the Bosphorus to Baghdad in the summer of 1940 when Hitler's Germany was invading and crushing France. The trip from the Bosphorus to Baghdad requires three days; and from there to the Persian Gulf is a 14-hour night express run.

BRITISH-RUSSIAN OCCUPATION OF IRAN

Iran Becoming Westernized. — In recent years western interest has been caught by the dominating figure of Riza Shah Pahlevi and his program of the modernization of a remote Moslem fastness. In his refusal to mortgage his kingdom to foreign investors, in his development of communications with Iranian money, and in his abolition of foreign privileges he has been likened to Kemal Ataturk as a stalwart reformer with oriental flavor.

German Fifth Column in Iran. — In the Iranian Government many key positions were held by Axis nationals, and the British claimed that their increasing control of communications and industry was in preparation for eventual German control of the country. The Soviet charged that Nazi agents, directed by the German legation at Teheran, had stored arms and ammunition along the northern frontiers of Iran, and with Iran as a base had attempted to organize terrorist bands to sabotage the Baku oil fields.

British-Russian Occupation. — At daybreak on August 25, 1941, following a futile diplomatic campaign to rid Iran of German agents, Great Britain and the Soviet Union jointly invaded the Shah's ancient realm with the stated aim of exterminating Axis influence. Riza Shah Pahlevi abdicated and was replaced by his twenty-year old son, Mohammed Shah Pahlevi. The German, Italian, Hungarian, and Rumanian legations were closed and the Axis nationals were surrendered. On September 13 the exodus of Axis nationals began. The first contingent of eighty Germans left Teheran for internment in Siberia and India, while 800 more remained in the compound of the German legation awaiting a similar disposition.



Washington Star

THE IRAN RAILROAD

This may become an important link between Russia and the outside world. The map also shows a proposed motor route.

The British and Russians now control the airdromes and communications; and the Iranian forces withdrew from the Russian border, and from the Anglo-Iranian oil fields north of the Persian Gulf, as required in the agreement of occupation.

The two powers tried to popularize the new tripartite regime by shipping in large quantities of

wheat, sugar, and textiles by way of the Caspian Sea and Persian Gulf.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Explain the Young Turk movement.
2. Explain Turkey's part in World War I.
3. Explain how Mustapha Kemal Pasha (Kemal Ataturk) made a nation of Turkey.
4. Describe the government created by Kemal Ataturk.
5. Who succeeded Kemal Ataturk upon his death?
6. Give recent changes in Turkey which are signs of progress.
7. Explain how the government is being modernized.
8. What territory did Turkey lose by World War I?
9. How is Syria now governed?
10. Explain the controversy over the Sanjak of Alexandretta.
11. Describe the British mandate over Palestine.
12. Explain the controversy between the Jews and Arabs in Palestine.
13. Explain the strategic importance of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus.
14. Describe the Baghdad Railway.
15. Explain the British penetration into the Near East during World War II.

PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION

1. After the World War should Syria, Palestine, Trans-Jordan, Hejaz, and Iraq have been restored to Turkey, given their independence, or mandated to France and Great Britain?

2. After the Greco-Turkish war Greeks in Turkey and Turks in Greece were exchanged on a large scale. Do you think such an exchange of racial groups in central Europe would be feasible and helpful?

3. Why has Great Britain been a more successful colonizer than France?

4. The Jewish people of America differ as to the wisdom of the Zionist movement. Do you believe the Jews in Palestine are likely to get along peaceably and happily with the Mohammedans? Do you think it would have been better to move the few Jews left in Palestine to more fertile countries or to move poor Jews from central Europe to Palestine?

5. Why do you suppose the oil pipe line from Iraq was extended to two ports instead of to one only?

6. If the Iraq government should become incapable of protecting property developed by foreign investors, should the West allow the people of Iraq to live a primitive life undisturbed, or should it establish a régime which would permit the natural resources of the country to be developed for the use of the natives and ourselves?

7. In 1931 Turkey imitated Russia by establishing import quotas on 1000 commodities, with the aim of balancing imports with exports. Should all nations do this?

8. Until 1932 family names were not the custom in Turkey. Thousands of women were simply "Fatimas" and men "Husseins." Why do you suppose the Turkish government required everybody to adopt a family name? President Kemal chose the name Ataturk, meaning "father of all Turks." What do we call the given name in the western nations, which helps explain its origin?

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CHAPTER XXIV

SPAIN, THE RECENT BATTLEFIELD FOR TWO IDEOLOGIES

Introduction. — Spain is only twice the size of Oregon; but it supports, or keeps alive, twenty-five times the population of Oregon. Because of its somewhat isolated location, its warm climate, and its Latin temper, it has not kept pace with the intellectual and industrial developments of northwestern Europe. Feudalism is not dead in Spain. Many estates exceeding 100,000 acres have not yet been divided. Army officers, until the formation of the republic in 1931, were accustomed to unusual privileges. The higher clergy enjoyed substantial incomes from the public treasury. The political leaders of Spain have not developed the conciliatory attitude essential for a democracy — for a republic. In the United States the religious brotherhood idea existing among many sects has helped to develop democracy. In America the public school is helping to preserve democracy. And the sportsmanlike attitude developed through our widespread athletics has taught our young people to accept defeat — to accept the results of an intramural athletic contest, and later to accept the results of a political election — the count of ballots. Not so in Spain. There a political opponent is too often a personal enemy.

The Land System. — Before the attempted republic of 1931 about one third of the land in Spain was held in large estates of self-indulgent landowners. Another third was held by "middle owners" who had it worked by sharecroppers and hired hands. The rest — principally the poorer land — was held by the peasants in small plots. In 1931 this last third of the land bore more than half of the taxes paid on land. These small landowners, with a dozen acres or less, had only the bare necessities of life. But the hired hands were even worse off. Seventy-five cents a

day was considered high pay, and there was work only a portion of the year. In Spain the feudal relations were gone, but the feudal attitude remained. The grandees were bound to their lands by pride. The social distinction and continuity of their families rested on their domains, and they were prepared to take violent measures rather than yield to the essential reforms.

The Catholic Church. — In Spain the Catholic church has received great veneration as a religious institution by a large part of the population. But the church was an economic institution as well. Prior to 1931 the clergy and hierarchy were paid by the state and the bishops were nominated by the King. Thus the support of the clergy depended upon the state, and the clergy were naturally expected to support the state. When political power was oppressive, as it commonly was, bishops and priests shared political unpopularity.

The Army. — King Alfonso XIII distinctly encouraged the increase of army influence. Military budgets increased, and principally for the increase of the pay of officers. In 1917 the officers organized *Juntas de Defensa*, which were powerful enough to make and unmake Cabinet Ministers. Army influence was curbed under the Primo de Rivera dictatorship, but he fell.

Until the creation of the Spanish republic in 1931 the army was to the state much as the Japanese army is today to Japan. It was a privileged caste with exceptional rights. It was, like the grandees, a caste whose economic privileges were the basis of its personal distinction. To limit its rights was to wound its pride.

Down to 1931 the grandees, the higher clergy, and the army stood together under the monarchy. And after the monarchy had fallen they continued to stand together.

The World War and Primo de Rivera¹ Dictatorship. — During the World War the demand for Spain's products grew enormously, and a taste of prosperity made the slump which followed the War felt all the more. Not only the liberals and socialists were dissatisfied, but even the reactionaries could not countenance the unnecessary slaughter of 10,000 Spaniards in the

¹ Rivera is pronounced rê vā'rä.

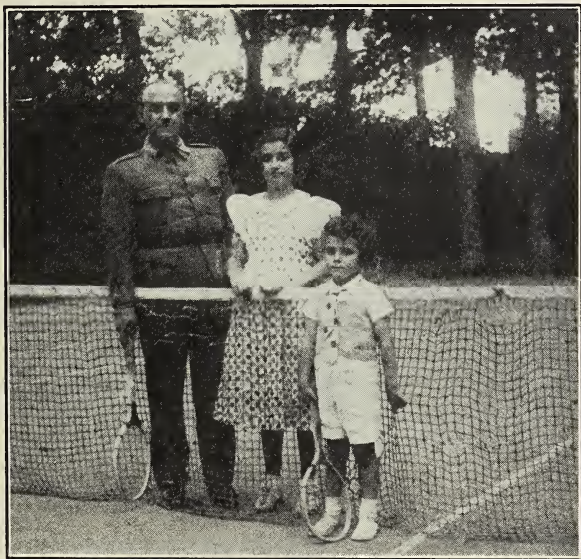
Moroccan uprising in one day in 1921. Accumulated dissatisfaction caused the top to blow off two years later — in 1923 — when the King had to acquiesce in the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera. This lasted six years. The dictator had been financed by Catalan industrialists. He established a high tariff, promoted public works, and suppressed the anarchists. He also did what so impressed the impressionable Americans in dictator countries: he built good roads, speeded up trains, polished up the hotels, installed telephones, built schools, and ran the gangsters and labor racketeers out of the country. But taxes went up. The peseta went down. Student strikes broke out. Universities closed. Free speech disappeared. Spies were everywhere. Prosperity did not come; and freedom did not exist. When his finance minister died Primo de Rivera began to look up the trains for France, and after an unsuccessful appeal to military and naval officers he resigned, and before the end of the year (1930) he died in France. He had encouraged industrialization, had helped the poor, had somewhat modernized the country: all of which gave encouragement to the liberals and the radicals. But his brutality turned the nation against the monarchy.

Monarchy Overthrown. — An election had not been held since the establishment of the dictatorship; but elections could not be postponed longer; and in 1931, within two months after the overthrow of the dictator, the general election for the Cortes (parliament) and the municipal elections were so decisive against the monarchy that Alfonso XIII had to flee. It is said that this was the first time since 1874 that the ballots had been actually counted. A bloodless revolution established a republic April 14, 1931.

The Republic. — Spain could unite on negative acts. It could unhorse a dictator, and it could exile a king. But it was not ready to operate a republic. The republic was merely a roof under which the traditional opponents faced each other with hatred and fear.

The republic was accepted by the Pope; but certain church dignitaries in Spain and many monarchists opposed the new

order, and a year later a group of army officers and aristocrats attempted a *coup d'état* in Madrid. The republic became the child of the Left — liberals, radicals, and anarchists. Churches were wrecked, priests and nuns were killed. The Jesuits were “dissolved on Spanish territory,” and the religious orders were forbidden to teach or engage in industry, and church property



GENERAL FRANCO PLAYS TENNIS WITH HIS DAUGHTER AND NEPHEW

was “nationalized,” though left in church possession. Catholics were unhappy, moderates were terrified, and the Left Wing extremists were not satisfied because the church had not been entirely abolished.

The Right had organized, and in the 1933 election there was a sweeping victory for the conservative Right. The legislation of the first two years of the republic was largely reversed. The substitution of lay instruction for clerical instruction was indefi-

nately postponed. The clergy had restored to them two thirds of their state-paid salary which had been repealed. The land law for dividing the large estates was suppressed. The republic was a football between the opposing forces of radical revolution and feudal reaction. There were strikes without end — general strikes — and cities were at times without water, lights, gas, or newspapers. A revolt resulted in the death of hundreds. The Left Wing parties were drawing together: the Socialists, the Workers Alliance, the Communists, and the Anarcho-Syndicalists. Party gunmen killed leaders on both sides. Regiments mutinied.

In the election of 1936 the Leftist parties formed the Popular Front and carried the election by substantial majorities in the Cortes. This Left government with a cabinet of moderate liberals began to take up the reforms where they had left off. Church property was taken over; the division of large estates was planned; prominent army officers were transferred. In short, the new régime set about breaking the hold of church, aristocracy, and army on the life of Spain. Naturally there was increasing ill-feeling accompanied by strikes.

Fascist Revolt. — With encouragement from Mussolini and Hitler, the Fascist Rebellion for Spain was started in July, 1936, under the leadership of General Francisco Franco. His proclamation condemning the existing régime was read over the radio from Morocco, where the revolt hatched. The greater part of the army followed Franco, but the navy did not. Therefore it was with difficulty that the army was moved from Morocco to Spain. Many of the soldiers were slowly transported in airplanes. The conservatives, who predominate in western Spain, joined the revolt in appreciable numbers. But two thirds of the population was in the industrial cities of eastern Spain. These were held by the government; but instead of the army, the government depended upon hastily organized militia poorly armed. The majority of Spanish were apparently for the republic and the government; but outside help came first to the Rebels. Mussolini almost immediately after the revolt dispatched twenty-odd planes to Franco. Several were wrecked

in French Africa, and the international phases of the struggle were on.

Non-Intervention Policies. — The sympathies of the Popular Front government of France were naturally with the Loyalists of Spain; but Premier Léon Blum restrained their desires to assist. Instead France and Great Britain created the Non-Intervention Committee at London, composed of members



LAST STAND AT BARCELONA

Spanish Loyalists hasten to stem advance of insurgent forces.

representing the leading governments of Europe. This committee endeavored to restrict the war to a Spanish Civil War by international agreements not to supply recruits or finances for either the Fascist Rebels under Franco or for the Loyalists who were fighting to preserve the republic. The United States co-operated with this non-intervention policy by placing an embargo upon recruits as well as munitions for the warring governments of Spain.

International Phases of the War. — The sympathies of Portugal were with the Fascist Rebels. And on November 18, 1936, Germany and Italy recognized the Rebel government at

Burgos, and at first secretly and later openly supplied soldiers and munitions to General Franco, in defiance of the Non-Intervention Committee. Russia at first aided the Loyalists; but because of distance, trouble at home, and strained relations with Japan and Germany, her aid dwindled before the end of the war. Without this foreign interference the war might have been of short duration; but with outside aid Spain became a "guinea

pig" for experiments with new implements of war and theories of government.



Courtesy The Oregonian

WHICH ONES DO I WANT FOR MY
FRIENDS?

and in 1941 there were still probably 400,000 political prisoners.

Primary education is compulsory and free, and the Catholic Church is again supported by the State. Parliament has been replaced by a national council appointed by Franco, who is the supreme authority. The *Falange* is the only political party.

World War II Policy. — Although Spain has a totalitarian government she is near bankruptcy and needs food and oil. Perhaps half of her people favor Russia and the democratic Allies who are in a better position than the Axis to supply her urgent needs. Franco apparently wants to remain neutral.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Why has democracy developed in the United States but not in Spain?
2. Describe the land system in Spain as it existed before the revolution of 1936-1939.
3. Describe the position of the Catholic church before 1931.
4. Describe the position of the army before 1931.



THE PRICE OF WAR

Just beyond Cerbere 50 Spanish war orphans are handed to the French. Their parents died long before the fall of Barcelona. These are far more warmly dressed than the children who later came across the line with their parents.

5. What led to the dictatorship created in Spain in 1923?
6. Describe the conditions during the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera.
7. Why was monarchy overthrown in 1931?
8. Describe the republic: as first established, after the election of 1933, and after the election of 1936.
9. Describe the Fascist revolt.
10. Explain the non-intervention policy attempted under the leadership of Great Britain and France.
11. Explain the reorganization of the government under Franco.
12. What were the principal conditions that caused Spain to hesitate to enter World War II?

PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Was the Civil War in Spain a conflict over ideologies (fascism versus communism), a struggle over economic advantages, a struggle emanating from the excitable Spanish nature, or a combination of various conflicts of opinion and economy?

2. Why did Mussolini supply volunteers and troops to Franco's army estimated anywhere from 40,000 to 180,000?

3. Why did Hitler supply drillmasters, aircraft, and other munitions to Franco?

4. In what materials is Spain likely to pay its debt to Italy and Germany for materials furnished the revolutionary party?

5. Some Spanish Nationalists would go to any extreme to regain the British-held Gibraltar. Of what importance is Gibraltar to Great Britain? Spain? Italy? Germany?

6. During Spain's Civil War Mussolini's newspaper proudly said: "Italy has not been neutral in this conflict, but has fought, and victory will be hers. Madrid will fall, as Bilbao fell, and Spain will be the tomb of Bolshevism, not of Fascism." This suggests the advice given to the Prince by Machiavelli: "In a conflict between equals always take sides and assure victory for your choice and share in the spoils." Should a nation remain neutral, fight for part of the spoils, or co-operate with other nations in enforcing law and justice?

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CHAPTER XXV

HAWAII, ALASKA, AND OUR OUTPOSTS

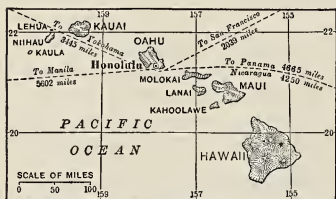
HAWAII

Before Annexation. — There are eight inhabited islands with a total area of 6449 square miles in the Hawaiian group, and these are located in the mid-Pacific, 2100 miles southwest of San Francisco. Before discovery the Islands had suffered from more than two centuries of continuous internal warfare. In 1778 Captain Cook, an Englishman, explored this group of islands and named them "Sandwich Islands" in honor of his patron, the Earl of Sandwich; but the native name "Hawaii" has become the accepted name. At first the natives seemed to take Captain Cook for a god, but the outrageous conduct of the crew finally emboldened the natives to attempt to steal a ship's boat. In the fighting which ensued Captain Cook was stabbed in the back with an iron dagger and killed.

Other explorers visited the Islands and trade was carried on, especially in rum and stills for the manufacture of liquor which did untold injury to the natives. But the coming of the missionaries in 1820 was the real beginning of civilization in the Islands. They brought the higher ideals of conduct, a written language, rules of health, impartial advice to the rulers, monogamy, and sex morality. The foreign riffraff who had infested the Islands resented these reforms, believing that no laws, whether of God or man, were in force west of Cape Horn. When the King promulgated laws against immorality, the whaling crews correctly held the missionaries responsible and often brutally attacked them. The commander of a United States frigate demanded the repeal of laws against vice, and allowed his men to attack the house of the chief and the mission premises in Honolulu. When a heavy duty was levied on spirits, the commander of a French frigate gave the King a few hours to decide

whether he would abolish the duty or undertake a war with France.

Annexation. — In 1891 Queen Lil (Liliuokalani¹) came to the throne, succeeding her brother who had just died at San Francisco after a trip around the world. She desired to remove constitutional restrictions which had been placed around the



HAWAII

crown, and in 1892 the element supporting her passed a bill licensing the sale of opium and another establishing a lottery. The better people were indignant, and they co-operated with those who for economic reasons desired annexation to the United

States. In January a revolutionary government was established, and annexation to the United States was asked. A treaty to effect this was in the United States Senate when Cleveland became President. He withdrew the treaty and later urged the restoration of the Queen. This was not desired by the people, and in 1894 the provisional government of Hawaii framed a constitution for the republic of Hawaii, and Sanford B. Dole, a most upright man, was first president.

Negotiations for annexation were again renewed by the Republicans when McKinley became President. During the war with Spain the strategical importance of the Islands to the United States became evident, and a joint resolution of annexation was put through Congress July 7, 1898, which was also accepted by the republic of Hawaii; and annexation was completed August 12, 1898.

The People. — The natives of Hawaii are of the Polynesian race and seem to have sprung from the Samoan group. The Hawaiian dialect is so like that of the Maori of New Zealand that an intelligent man knowing one can understand much of the other.

¹ Liliuokalani is pronounced lē lē ʔō ʔ kā lā'nē.

At the time of the discovery of the Islands, there were probably two hundred thousand inhabitants, notwithstanding the losses of two centuries of wars. But diseases brought by the white man, strong drink, other vices, and intermarriage have reduced the native pure-blooded Hawaiians to an insignificant figure. The total population of Hawaii in 1940 was 423,330, consisting of the following racial composition:

RACE	1910	1920	1930	1940
Hawaiian	26,041	23,723	22,636	—
Asiatic Hawaiian	3,734	6,955	12,592	—
Caucasian Hawaiian	8,772	11,072	15,632	—
Hawaiian & Part Hawaiian	—	—	—	64,310
Caucasian	37,168	46,710	80,373	103,791
Japanese	79,675	109,274	139,631	157,905
Chinese	21,674	23,507	27,179	28,774
Korean	4,533	4,950	6,461	6,851
Filipino	2,361	21,031	63,052	52,569
Puerto Ricans	—	—	—	8,296
Other races	7,951	8,690	780	834
Total	191,909	255,912	368,336 ¹	423,330 ²

As Orientals are now excluded, and as many of the Japanese have left the cane fields for small pineapple farms of their own, the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association encouraged the immigration of Filipinos, who were nationals of the United States and were not excluded. The Filipinos have become the largest racial element on the sugar plantations.

The governing class in the Islands is about half native and half Caucasian. Of the Caucasians, Portuguese and Americans predominate. For example, Delegate Baldwin who represented the Islands in the 67th Congress of the United States was a descendant of early American missionaries.

The Government Organic Act. — In 1900 Congress passed the Hawaiian Organic Act, providing for the government of Hawaii as a Territory of the United States. This Act, as amended in

¹ 30% of these were alien born.

² 18% of these were alien born.

1910, provides "that the Constitution, and except as herein otherwise provided, all the laws of the United States, including laws carrying general appropriations, which are not locally inapplicable, shall have the same force and effect within said territory as elsewhere in the United States." Under this Act, American citizenship was extended to all Hawaiian citizens and Hawaiian citizenship to all resident American citizens.



WHERE THE RACES MEET

"Bill of Rights." — In 1923 the legislature of Hawaii passed an Act, popularly called "Hawaii's Bill of Rights," setting forth the historical record of annexation, reasserting Hawaii's right to complete recognition as an integral part of the Union, and authorizing the governor to appoint a special commission to co-operate with the delegate to Congress in presenting this situation to Congress. In this Bill it is perhaps correctly stated that the status of Hawaii is co-equal with that of the states with the following exceptions :

- (1) That certain officers of the Territory are appointed by the President ;
- (2) That the Territory of Hawaii does not vote for the President or Vice-President ;
- (3) That the Territory of Hawaii is represented in Congress by a non-voting delegate instead of by senators and representatives ;

- (4) That the Territory of Hawaii operates under a constitution (the Organic Act) enacted by Congress; and
- (5) That the enactments of its legislature are subject to be repealed or amended by Congress. (During the four decades since the organization of the Territory of Hawaii, this power has never been exercised by Congress.)

Hawaii, unlike the Philippines, is asking not for independence but for admission as a state.

The Governor is chosen by the United States President and Senate for four years. He is a resident of Hawaii and appoints other administrative officers with the consent of the local senate.

The Legislature of the territory consists of a senate with fifteen members elected for the term of four years, and a house of representatives with thirty members elected for the term of two years. Regular sessions of the legislature are held biennially, and are limited to sixty days. The legislature may enact any law that does not conflict with the Constitution, statutes, or treaties of the United States. Congress, however, has by statute imposed restrictions upon the power of the legislature. For example, it forbids the granting of divorces to persons who have resided in the Islands less than two years; it forbids lotteries; and it imposes restrictions regarding financial matters.

The Judiciary of the territory consists of a Supreme Court with three judges, citizens of the Territory, appointed by the President and Senate for a term of four years, a United States District Court with two judges appointed by the President and Senate for a term of six years, and inferior courts created by the territorial legislature. Appeals from the United States District Court go to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals of the ninth judicial circuit or to the United States Supreme Court.

A Territorial Delegate to the Government of the United States is elected by the people of the Territory for each term of Congress. He is allowed a seat in the House of Representatives with a right to debate and serve on committees, but he cannot vote. His salary is \$10,000 a year.

The Army consists of the Hawaiian National Guard, closely co-ordinated with the Hawaiian Department of the American

Regular Army. Because of the strategical position of these Islands in mid-Pacific, a considerable force of regulars is stationed there.

Education. — The legislature of Hawaii supports education and determines educational policies. The Hawaiian people as a whole are American in speech and thought, the natives having voluntarily abolished their own language for English. In the public school system, culminating in the University, all instruction is given in the English language. The teachers of the public schools must be citizens of the United States, and many of them are from the continental United States.

For many years there has been a number of private foreign language schools in Hawaii, and in 1920 the legislature passed an Act, amended in 1923, providing :

- (1) That a pupil must complete the first, second, and third grades in the public schools before attending a foreign language school ;
- (2) That daily attendance at a foreign language school is restricted to one hour ;
- (3) That each teacher possess ideals of democracy, knowledge of American history, and the English language.
- (4) That the foreign language texts be prepared by Hawaiian authorities or approved by them ; and
- (5) That a license fee of \$1 per pupil be paid to cover the cost of carrying out the provisions of the law.

But in 1927 the United States Supreme Court declared this Act void because it violated the due process of law clause of Amendment 5. Some parts of the statute may be constitutional if enacted separately.

The public school attendance is about 80,000. The parents of some 10,000 children have wanted them also to attend privately maintained schools where alien language and alien ideals prevail. Thus one sixth of the public school children were brought under alien influence, notwithstanding the fact that 98 per cent of them were born in Hawaii and are therefore American citizens.

As it is desirable that people residing in the mid-Pacific have some knowledge of Oriental languages, they should be taught in the public schools of Hawaii as an elective subject.

Finances. — The people of Hawaii pay income taxes and other Federal taxes to the United States, as well as customs taxes on imports from countries other than the United States.

The Coastwise Trade Laws of the United States Apply to Hawaii, which means that only United States vessels can carry freight or passengers between the Islands and the United States in time of peace. This works to the advantage of Vancouver,



DIAMOND HEAD AT HONOLULU

James Sawders

Hawaii has some of the most beautiful and fertile land in the Pacific.

Canada, in comparison with Seattle. Foreign vessels can carry passengers and freight from Vancouver to the Islands but not from Seattle.

The United States Immigration Laws Apply to Hawaii. — Therefore Oriental immigrants are excluded and European immigrants are restricted under our quota laws. Filipino laborers may come under conditions prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior and the governor. Some think European immigration should be encouraged to increase the proportion of whites.

Statehood. — *Congressional Investigation.* — Hawaii has been officially asking for statehood through its legislature for thirty years to protect itself against discriminatory legislation in Washington. Opposition to the proposal is based primarily on the fear that Hawaii's Orientals are not yet adequately Americanized. To study this question Congress appointed two



GIRL RESERVES — MANY NATIONALITIES

Joint Congressional Committees on Statehood for Hawaii, which visited the Islands in 1935 and 1937.

Proportion of Japanese Declining. — Immigration from Japan was limited by the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907 and was stopped by the Immigration Act of 1924. Since then many Japanese have left the Islands. During the five years preceding 1937, the excess of departures over arrivals was 5231; and during the three years ending in 1937, the white population had an increase of over 5500 Americans from the mainland, not including men connected with the Army and Navy. The Japanese birthrate in Hawaii is declining, as Hawaiian-born

Japanese have largely adopted an American standard of living and therefore marry later and have smaller families.

Opposition to Statehood. — The Army and Navy are generally opposed to statehood for fear that American citizens of Japanese ancestry might be elected to executive offices of the new state and refuse to co-operate fully with the Army and Navy.

Arguments for Statehood. — On the other hand those favoring statehood show that the number of voters with Japanese ancestry is not likely to exceed about one third. They also argue that all Japanese born in Hawaii are educated in English from American textbooks,¹ that they could not be happy in Japan after being reared according to the American standard of living, and that they will be just as loyal as we encourage them to be by placing confidence in them. Dr. Crawford, President of the University of Hawaii, has said: "Statehood will make better citizens of our Oriental young people . . . it will prove to them that they are being trusted as fellow citizens."

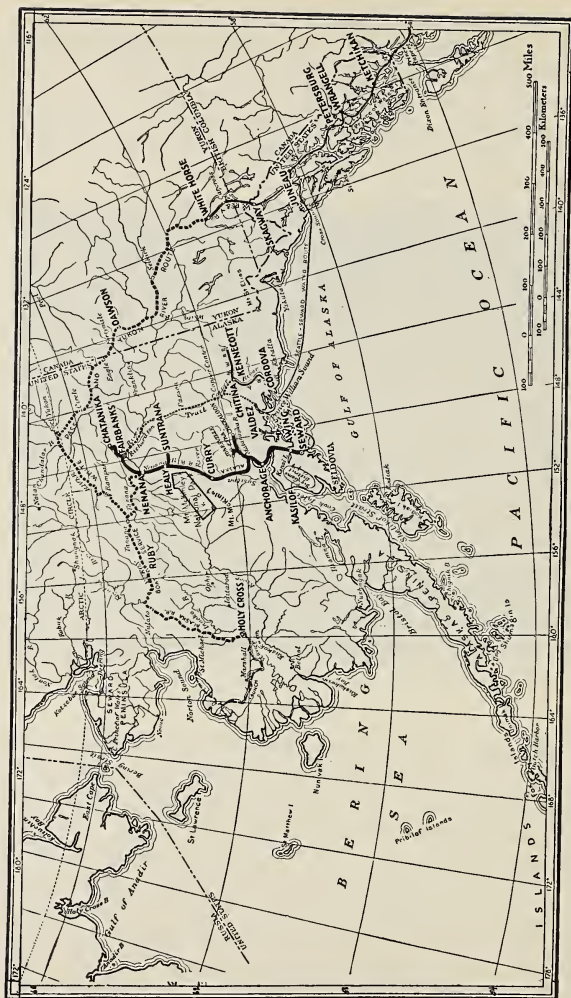
The sugar interests want statehood because Congress has limited the amount of sugar that Hawaii may ship to the United States.

Pearl Harbor is America's most important Pacific outpost. Because of its importance, Japan launched its war against the United States by a sudden attack here before war was declared.

ALASKA

Acquisition. — The United States purchased Alaska from Russia in 1867 when Johnson was President and Seward was Secretary of State. For this vast domain of 590,884 square miles, one fifth the size of the United States, we paid only \$7,200,000. During the Civil War Russia exhibited a friendly spirit towards the United States and voluntarily offered to sell this far-away possession of hers. Secretary Seward was an ardent expansionist and promptly induced the Senate to ratify the treaty of purchase by an almost unanimous vote. Some

¹ After school hours a number of Japanese children learned the Japanese language at private schools until stopped by World War II.



ALASKA

opposition developed, but it was appreciated that the acquisition of Alaska by the United States not only would create a buffer territory between Russia and Great Britain — imperial rivals — but would also “cage the British lion on the Pacific Coast.” Some insisted that it was a barren region of rocks and ice, and the wits called it “Seward’s Folly” and “Johnson’s Polar Bear Garden.” One of the congressmen called Alaska “the refrigerator of the United States.” Very little was known of the country and it was not realized that the parts of Alaska affected by the Japanese Current have more moderate winters than most of the northern states of our union.

Population. — The population of Alaska is 72,524 according to the 1940 Census.¹ (Because of climatic conditions this census of Alaska was taken as of October 1, 1939, instead of April 1, 1940.) In summer the population is increased by miners, cannery employees, tourists, and others.

The population was composed of more Indians than Whites until the 1940 census, which showed an increase in population of 22 per cent. This increase was partly due to the influx of families from the Middle West, who with generous Government assistance moved to Alaska during the depression. Defense projects and \$35 an ounce for gold attracted others.

Resources. — In addition to gold Alaska has numerous minerals, of which copper and coal are the most valuable. Of the timber resources, the most important are spruce and hemlock, which are especially adapted to the manufacture of paper. It is estimated that the timber growth on the Tongass and the Chugach National Forests, under careful management, will support permanently a pulp and paper manufacturing industry with an output equivalent to one fourth of the present consumption of pulp products in the United States. This timber is near the shore line and there is plenty of water power to grind the logs into pulp. The greatest article of export today is salmon. Of especial interest is the fur industry.

¹The population of Alaska by decades has been as follows: 1880 — 33,426; 1890 — 32,052; 1900 — 63,592; 1910 — 64,356; 1920 — 55,036; 1930 — 59,278.

The Pribilof¹ Islands were made a government reservation in 1869, and since 1903 have been under the control of the Department of Commerce. The chief value of the islands is due to the American fur seals which resort there annually for breeding purposes. This herd is under the management of the Bureau of Fisheries. Previous to 1911 the herd of seals was being exterminated rapidly because gasoline launches with rapid-fire guns from Canada, Japan, and Russia, as well as the United



FUR SEALS ON THE PRIBILOF ISLANDS

States, were taking them out of the sea. That year a convention was signed by the United States, Japan, Russia, and Great Britain for Canada, providing that none of their subjects or citizens should take the seals from the high seas. The United States agreed to give 15 per cent of the skins taken from the seals killed on the Pribilof Islands to Canada and 15 per cent to Japan. Russia agreed to give 15 per cent of those taken on her islands to Canada and 15 per cent to Japan. Japan agreed to give 10 per cent of those taken on her islands to Canada, 10 per cent to Russia, and 10 per cent to the United States. The convention was made effective for fifteen years, or until terminated upon

¹ Pribilof is pronounced prē bē löf'.

twelve months' notice on the part of one of the parties. Under this co-operative protective system the Pribilof Island herd has increased from 132,000 to more than 1,300,000.

In 1940 Japan gave notice of withdrawal from the sealing convention, to take effect in 1941, before Japan began the war.

The resources of Alaska are now being made available by a thousand miles of railroad, including the government-built road of 468 miles from Seward to Fairbanks which runs through the coal fields. This road was completed in 1922 at a cost of \$56,000,000, although the final spike, which was made of gold, was driven by President Harding when he visited Alaska in July, 1923. It was well built and without the semblance of waste or graft. A highway through central British Columbia to Fairbanks, Alaska, is being constructed by joint Canadian and United States action, as a defense route.

Government. — The treaty of 1867, by which Alaska was purchased, extended American citizenship to the inhabitants, and in 1912 Congress established a fully organized territory.

The Governor is appointed by the President with the consent of the United States Senate for a term of four years. He need not be a resident of Alaska, but he must reside there during his term of office. He has the usual powers of a territorial executive, including the right to veto specific items in appropriation bills. He makes an annual report to the President.

The Legislature consists of a senate of eight members, two from each judicial division, and a house of representatives with sixteen members, four from each judicial division. The senators are elected for four years and the representatives for two years. The legislature convenes at Juneau, the capital, in March of every odd year for a sixty-day session.

Alaska is a fully incorporated territory and all the provisions and limitations of the Constitution of the United States are applicable to it. The legislative power extends to "all rightful subjects of legislation not inconsistent with the Constitution and laws of the United States," but there are certain enumerated restrictions such as the following: no law shall be passed interfering with the original disposal of the soil; no divorce shall be

granted unless the applicant has resided in Alaska for at least two years; and no tax shall be levied in excess of rates specified by Congress.

The legislature of Alaska does not have power to regulate customs, internal revenue, or game, fish, or fur seals. All laws passed by the legislature must be sent to Congress, and if disapproved by Congress they are null and void.

The Territorial Delegate is elected every second November to represent Alaska in Washington. He has a seat in the House of Representatives, debates and serves on committees, but has no vote. His salary is \$10,000 a year.

The Coast Guard acts as a guardian of the Territory. It enforces the international treaty relating to the seal and sea-otter herds, the fishery regulations, and the game laws. Some islands are touched only by the annual cruise of a coast guard cutter. The cutters render medical aid to the people of the archipelago. Court is held on board the vessel along the peninsula.

Reindeer, which are one of the main reliances of the northern natives and Aleutian Islanders for food, clothing, and transportation, were introduced from Siberia by the Coast Guard under the supervision of the Board of Education.

Need of Reorganization. — Alaska has been called the "land that Uncle Sam bought and then forgot." The Territory is largely governed by a long-distance service through thirty-odd bureaus and divisions of eight departments at Washington. This condition necessarily leads to confusion.

Other Outstanding Needs. — More liberal concessions for exploitations is considered by Alaskans to be the great need of the country. The conservation laws of some years ago are truly conserving the natural resources of the country and preventing their exploitation by capitalists; but people cannot live on coal in the ground and trees in the forests. If the government itself will not work these resources the conditions offered to private capital must be sufficient to induce it to enter this distant field. If Alaska is to be peopled, it must have industry. Whether the government should expend enough money to develop this terri-

tory, whether it should grant more liberal concessions to capital, or whether it should conserve the resources for a future population is a question which Congress must answer.

Alaska Rural Rehabilitation Corporation. — In 1935 the Federal Emergency Relief Administration assisted about 200 families to move from the Middle West to Matanuska Valley, near Anchorage, Alaska, on the Alaska Railroad. The United States Government advanced about \$3000 to each family for



FISHING BOATS AT JUNEAU, ALASKA

John Kabel

a log house, a well, livestock, and food at the commissary; and gave it 40 acres of fertile land largely uncleared. The \$3000 is to be repaid on the installment plan over a period of 30 years. The first interest payment at three per cent was due in 1937, and the first payment on the principal was due in 1940.

These colonists must sell through a central co-operative and take orders regarding choice of crops, processing, means of marketing, crop rotation, and many other phases of farm management. They must pay out of the profits of their co-operative enterprises the running and capital expenses of the colony.

The climate is not so severe in winter as that of the states from which they came. The rivers and lakes teem with trout, and there is much wild game around the edges of the valley. Vegetables, and cereals other than corn, do well there; and Anchorage will give them a market for their products.

This co-operative enterprise comes under the Alaska Rural Rehabilitation Corporation, and the colonists are allowed a council consisting of two representatives from each camp; but the Corporation is to manage the affairs in general.

By the end of the first winter, a fourth of the families had returned to the United States, but the deserted homesteads were taken over by Alaskans.

The Salmon Fisheries Problem. — In recent years the Japanese fishermen have been encroaching closer and closer to the Alaskan waters. The Japanese claim that according to international law or tradition it is within their right to fish in the Alaskan waters outside the three-mile limit. The United States, however, is trying to find a way to prevent this foreign salmon fishing because it interferes with an industry on which our Government has been spending more than \$300,000 annually.

The following suggestions have been made as possible solutions of the problem :

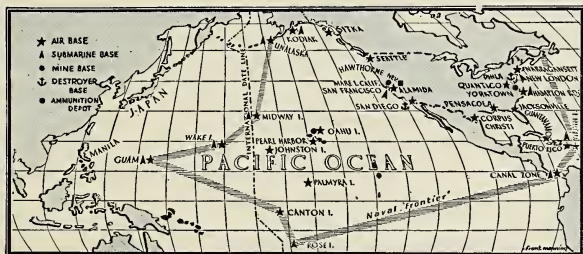
1. By Congress stating that the jurisdiction of the United States will be extended beyond the three-mile limit to the Continental Shelf, which is about 100 miles into the Bering Sea. For more than a hundred years the United States has successfully claimed the right to search merchant vessels twelve miles out at sea in the enforcement of its tariff laws.
2. By claiming ownership of the fish because they are spawned largely at our governmental expense within territorial waters and return after going to sea. We do not have well-established precedents for this procedure.
3. By arbitration, as was done in the Fur Seal Case of 1880 between Great Britain and the United States.
4. By a convention or treaty with Japan.
5. By strong-arm methods which have been practiced by some of the American fishermen. This method was merely an invitation for international conflict, which began in 1941.

Importance of Alaska for Defense. — The airplane has made Alaska increasingly vulnerable to attack from Asia, but also increasingly valuable as a strategic base for United States military operations. Tokio is about 1500 miles closer by way of the Aleutians than by Hawaii. The Alaska-Aleutians route, moreover, entails no single flight of more than 800 miles.

The United States has built a network of emergency landing fields, army air bases at Fairbanks and Anchorage, and naval air bases at Sitka, Kodiak, and Dutch Harbor. When water transportation is menaced, the new highway and pipe line through Canada can insure supplies for these bases.

PACIFIC OUTPOSTS

Guam, which is about 5000 miles from San Francisco and 1500 from the Philippines, is a small island of some 200 square miles. It was taken from Spain as a result of the Spanish-American War (1898), and has a population of about 18,000.



© Newsweek

NETWORK OF BASES STRETCHING FROM GUAM TO THE VIRGIN ISLANDS BEFORE WORLD WAR II

Guam was administered by the Navy Department as a naval station, and its governor was a naval officer appointed by the President. Our Government operated a powerful radio station; and cables to Manila, Yokohama, Yap, and Midway were anchored here until cut at the beginning of the war early in December, 1941.

In 1939 a special board headed by Rear-Admiral Hepburn, retired, recommended that the United States fortify Guam. Chairman Vinson of the House Naval Affairs Committee asked Congress for an appropriation for this purpose. The President pointed out that while he was asking for an authorization of \$5,000,000 for Guam, it did not necessarily mean that the money would be spent. This would depend upon international agreements affecting the Far East. Japan construed the proposed fortification of Guam as an unfriendly gesture, and Congress did not make the appropriation until it was too late.

In a three-power agreement with Great Britain and Japan in 1921 the United States agreed not to fortify Guam while Japan agreed not to fortify its nearby mandated islands. Japan denounced the agreement five years ago and three years ago it expired; consequently the United States was legally free to enter a naval base race in the Pacific if it had wanted to.

A naval and air base at Guam might have barred Japan's southward path of expansion to the Philippines, Singapore, and the Dutch East Indies.

An American base at Guam could have moved the battle line in the conflict with Japan far into Japanese waters. Guam, unprepared, became America's first line of defense; but in December, 1941, Japan's sudden attack in her undeclared war against the United States found Guam with unfinished defenses and the Island was unable to hold out against the onslaught.

American Samoa. — Samoa, which is located in the southern Pacific about 4000 miles from the United States, became famous as the retreat of Robert Louis Stevenson. Also in the late '80's Great Britain, Germany, and the United States narrowly escaped open conflict when war vessels of the three nations were in the harbor in Apia supporting their three consuls who were negotiating with the native chiefs. War was averted by an agreement for a three-party supervision of the government; but this proved unsuccessful. Finally, by a treaty, division was effected in 1900 whereby the United States was given as its sphere all the islands east of the 171st meridian. This

included the island of Tutuila, containing the harbor of Pago Pago, the best in the southern Pacific. In 1900 and 1904 the Samoan chiefs ceded the islands to us, though Congress did not formally accept them until 1929.

A naval officer is in control of Samoa and he governs the territory as he would govern a ship. He governs through native chiefs who apply the customary laws of the people. The natives have been protected from exploitation by a prohibition of the sale of communal lands to foreigners. The copra crop is sold for them at auction by the government; and medical attention is given by naval doctors and nurses.

Samoa might be of military value as an air base in case of a threatened attack upon Hawaii from that direction.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. How far are the Hawaiian Islands from San Francisco?
2. Why were the Islands first called "Sandwich Islands"?
3. How were the Islanders treated by the traders before the missionaries influenced them?
4. When and why were the Islands annexed to the United States?
5. Why has the native population decreased since discovery?
6. Describe the population of Hawaii today?
7. To what extent do laws of Congress apply to Hawaii?
8. With what exception is the status of Hawaii co-equal with that of the states?
9. How is the governor of Hawaii chosen, and what restriction is placed upon the president in choosing him?
10. Of what does the legislature of Hawaii consist?
11. To what extent is Hawaii represented in Washington?
12. In what language are the Hawaiian children educated?
13. What act of the Hawaiian legislature pertaining to private foreign language schools was declared unconstitutional?
14. What taxes do Hawaiians pay?
15. How is coastwise trade between the United States and Hawaii restricted?
16. To what extent do the United States immigration laws apply to Hawaii?
17. Is the proportion of Japanese in Hawaii increasing or decreasing?
18. Why are Army and Navy officials commonly opposed to statehood for Hawaii?
19. What arguments are there for statehood?

440 Hawaii, Alaska, and Our Outposts

20. What is the importance of Pearl Harbor?
21. From whom did the United States acquire Alaska and how much did she pay for it?
22. What was the population of Alaska in 1940?
23. Explain the international agreement by which the United States saved the fur seal industry. What happened to it?
24. How is the governor of Alaska chosen?
25. Of what does the legislature consist?
26. What restrictions are there upon the powers of the Alaskan legislature?
27. How is Alaska represented in Washington?
28. What are some of the needs of Alaska?
29. Describe the Matanuska Valley project.
30. Explain the Alaskan salmon fisheries problem with Japan.

PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION

1. In 1927 the Supreme Court of the United States declared unconstitutional the 1920 Hawaiian Act to regulate and restrict foreign language schools. Advance arguments justifying this decision.
2. Why do the Hawaiians claim that all Federal aid granted to the American states should also be extended to Hawaii?
3. Are Orientals born in Hawaii permitted to migrate to the United States?
4. If you were in Congress why should you vote for or against the admission of Hawaii as a state?
5. Why has the United States spent several hundred million dollars to fortify Hawaii?
6. The latitude of Alaska is the same as that of the Scandinavian countries, and because of this fact many say that it is possible for Alaska to attain as high a degree of development. What is your opinion?
7. Only American vessels are allowed to ply between Alaska and the United States, but many passengers and much freight are carried from Vancouver, British Columbia, on Canadian boats. Does the restriction of commerce between Alaska and the United States to the United States ships work to the advantage of Seattle or Vancouver?
8. For some years the extension of the Pan American Highway through Canada to Alaska had been considered. As the Canadian section through British Columbia is largely undeveloped the greatest benefit would be to the United States and Alaska for transportation and defense. The road was opened to travel in November, 1942. What is its value to the United States?
9. What do you think the United States should do to protect itself from Japan, to aid China in maintaining its independence, and to pre-

vent Japan from seizing Australia and developing the natural resources of the East Indies and Asia which she has seized?

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CHAPTER XXVI

THE PHILIPPINES

Introduction. — Although Japan conquered the Philippines in 1942 the United States has not legally ceded the Islands to Japan, but on the contrary expects to reconquer them and give them independence as promised. We recognize the Philippine Government in exile in Washington, and are working with it.

History. — The Philippine Islands, the largest group of islands in the Malay Archipelago, were discovered by Magellan in 1521 and conquered by Spain in 1565. They were ceded to the United States by the Treaty of Paris (Dec. 10, 1898) following the Spanish-American War. Admiral Dewey had destroyed the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay, May 1, 1898, and Major General Merritt had captured the city of Manila on August 13, 1898.

Area and Population. — The Philippine Archipelago consists of more than 3000 islands with a total area of 114,400 square miles — as large as Great Britain. According to the 1939 census the population of the Islands is 16,356,000. The population has doubled under the American regime. Chinese immigrants have been excluded in recent years; and in December, 1941, the writ of *habeas corpus* was suspended so that Japanese under suspicion of aiding the invading Japanese could be arrested.

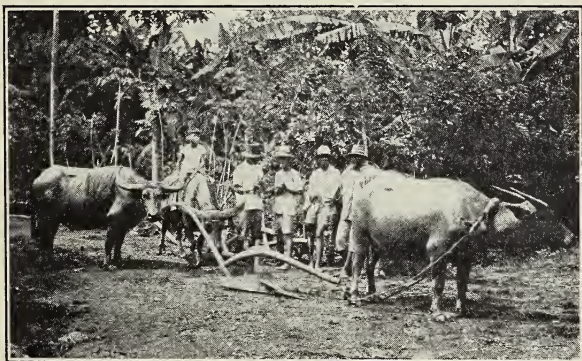
The Philippine Races. — *Negritos.* — The original natives of the Islands are the Negritos, very small, woolly-haired, black men about 4 feet 6 inches in height, of whom there are now about 40,000. They have no habitations, but live in scattered forests of the northern islands and seem incapable of being civilized.

*The Hill Tribes of Luzon,*¹ which include the Igorots, are a semi-civilized mountain people numbering nearly 400,000.

¹ Japanese troops landed on several shores of Luzon in December, 1941.

Their ancestors came from the mainland of Asia and had partially replaced the Negritos when the Malaysian Filipinos came and drove them to the mountains. Head hunting has until recently been practiced by them. The heads were dried and adorned the houses of the warriors, just as game trophies now adorn the homes of American millionaires.

The superiority of these tribes over the Negritos is shown by the fact that they have built twelve thousand miles of stone-faced walls to terrace the mountains for irrigating their rice plots.



FILIPINO FARMERS READY FOR WORK

Schools, both public and missionary, have been established among them, and travel among them now is considered safe. They show great promise of early civilization.

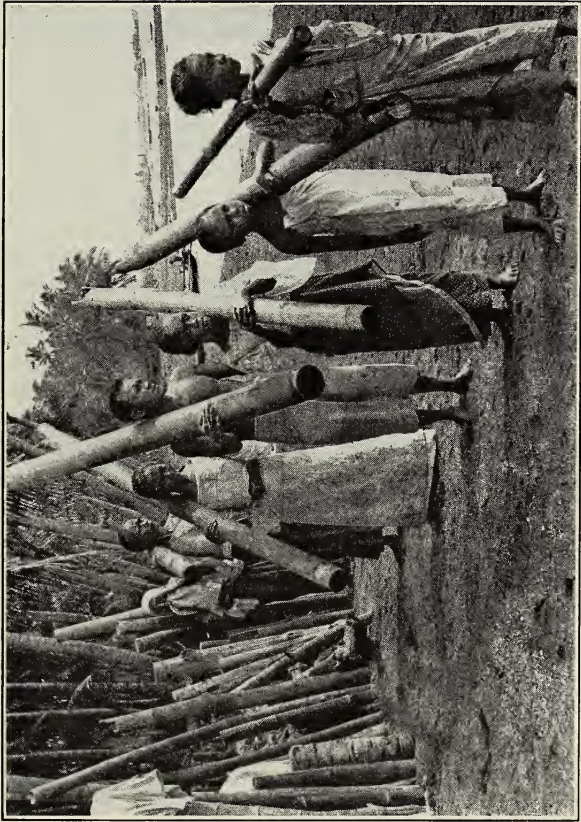
Moros. — The Filipinos of the sparsely settled islands of Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago are Mohammedans and were named Moros by the Spaniards in remembrance of the Mohammedan Moors of Spain. The Moros, of whom there are 394,964, are of the same racial stock as the Christian Filipinos. They were warlike and very proficient in the use of the bolo, never having been subjugated until met by generals Wood, Bliss, and Pershing of the American Army. They were pacified and were being educated by means of the English language.

These people claimed independence of the Philippine government, but in 1915 the Sultan of the Sulu Islands abdicated on condition that he be recognized as the head of the Mohammedan church in the Philippines. The Philippine government consented to this privilege and granted him an annual pension of 12,000 pesos for life. Thus ended all claims to sovereignty by the Moros.

The Christian Filipinos.—The Filipinos were the first people in the Orient to become Christian as a nation; and today more than 90% are Christian. Most of these are Roman Catholics. There are probably half a million Mohammedans — principally in the sparsely settled island of Mindanao — and a decreasing number of pagans in the hill country. Because they are Christian and have largely adopted the Western philosophy, they resent even the idea of being governed by Japan.

In the words of Leonard Wood and Cameron Forbes:¹ “The Philippine people possess many fine and attractive qualities — dignity and self-respect, as shown by deportment, complete absence of beggars, personal neatness and cleanliness, courtesy and consideration to strangers and guests, boundless hospitality, willingness to do favors for those with whom they come in contact, which amounts almost to inability to say ‘No’ to a friend. They are happy and carefree to an extent seldom found among other peoples, keen to own their land, strongly attached to their homes and their children, proud of and devoted to their beloved Philippines; they are free from worries arising from international difficulties and responsibilities, they are refined in manner, filled with racial pride, light-hearted and inclined to be improvident, as are all people who live in lands where nature does so much and people require so little. In many positions they have shown marked capacity and have done better than could reasonably be expected of an inexperienced and untried people. There are many holding high positions in the judicial, executive, and educational departments who would be a credit to any gov-

¹ These paragraphs are quoted from the Report of the Special Mission on Investigation to the Philippine Islands of which Leonard Wood and Cameron Forbes were the outstanding members. Secretary of War, 1921.



THE RANK AND FILE OF THE FILIPINOS

ernment. They are proud, as they well may be, of the advance they have made since the beginning of American control of the islands, for it can be safely stated that no people, under the friendly tutelage of another, have made so great a progress in so short a time. . . .

"They possess active minds, their children are bright and precocious and learn rapidly. The whole people have a consuming thirst for education, and, as is common among those who have had little opportunity and much hard work, there is a leaning toward the learned professions or occupations which do not involve severe manual labor, and a tendency to underestimate the importance of agriculture and the dignity of labor, and to overestimate the standing given by the learned professions.

"Their support and aid in the building up of public education is beyond praise. They have sacrificed much that their children might be able to go to school, and the interests of an entire family are often subordinated to sending the selected member to a higher school or university. Schoolhouses are often constructed by voluntary contributions of labor, money, and material.

"There is a serious lack of educated public opinion, for as yet the Philippine public is not a reading public, and there is a lack of a strong, independent press, although there has been a great advance in this respect during recent years. . . .

"The Philippine people are readily led by those who understand them. They make brave soldiers, and under good leaders make excellent troops. Due to the lack of a well-informed public opinion they are easily swayed by their leaders. . . .

"The Filipino woman is a strong and dominating influence in every home and community; she is modest, loyal, and hard-working, and while not much in evidence she is nevertheless always to be reckoned with. She is the strong conservative influence which keeps together the home, saves the money, and is the foundation of the success of many families. The establishment of large numbers of women's clubs, that concern themselves with hygiene and other civic matters, is a most encouraging sign of the times."

Language. — There are 87 languages and dialects spoken in the Islands. Eight of these are spoken by not less than half a million people each. Some of the dialects differ so slightly that the people using one can also understand that of their neighbors, but many dialects are so radically different that they are mutually unintelligible. Educated Filipino leaders who speak Spanish and English are not able to address more than one sixth of their people without the aid of an interpreter.

Spanish and English were the official languages; but the public schools were conducted primarily in English with texts printed in English. The English language is of great importance to the Filipinos as a common medium of communication and about 4,000,000 Filipinos read or understand it.

The Constitution for the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands provides that the Philippines shall maintain an adequate system of public schools, "primarily conducted in the English language" until independence; but thereafter the Tā-gā'-lōg language spoken in the center of Luzon island is to be the official language according to action by the National Assembly.

The Spanish Régime. — In 1521 Magellan, the Portuguese navigator in the employ of the King of Spain, landed at Cebu. The following four centuries of Spanish rule Christianized the natives and set up the only Christian nation in the Orient. It brought Western ideas and government, and gave to the women freedom from Hindu, Chinese, and Mohammedan degradations.

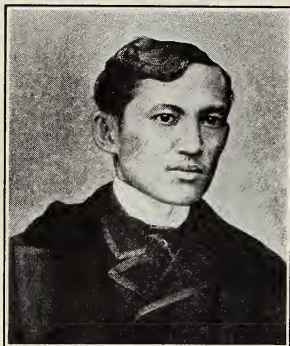
The Spanish Crown could seldom induce its best men to go to Manila, and many who went seemed to have been inspired by the hope of a fortune outside their official salaries. Each village was so completely under the control of the priest that a large army was not necessary to keep the people in subjection.

The Spaniards had little of the Anglo-Saxon race prejudice, and in Spain a few Filipinos rose to eminence in the public service; but in the Islands this right was denied them except in a few cases in the minor judiciary.

During the third quarter of the nineteenth century Spanish sovereignty in the Philippines showed signs of decay and weak-

ness. Consideration for the people by the government grew less and less, and secret societies among them were rigorously suppressed.

The Revolt against Spain. — Seed for a revolt against the Spanish was sown by the national hero of the Philippines, José Rizal.¹ This young man graduated from the University of Madrid in medicine and philosophy, studied in Paris, Heidelberg,



DR. JOSÉ RIZAL, NATIONAL HERO
OF THE PHILIPPINES

Leipzig, and Berlin, and was a member of the Berlin Anthropological Society. He practiced medicine in China and pursued his literary work in Japan, London, and North America.

Rizal wrote two novels which have been translated into English under the titles, "The Social Cancer" and "The Reign of Greed." These books give a touching picture of the wrongs and oppressions of his fellow countrymen. For these books he paid his life, December 30, 1896. He was executed for the

supposed responsibility for revolutionary movements; though his books, which were not allowed to be circulated in the Islands, show that he was protesting against injustices and that he was demanding education for his people.

The insurrection against Spain broke out in 1896 and the Spanish authorities were unable to suppress it. A compromise left matters in a state of uncertainty until the Spanish-American War caused the Philippines to be transferred from Spain to the United States.

The American Régime. — Under American control the government of the Philippine Islands had gradually evolved from a strict military rule, through a supervised self-government, to promised independence in 1946.

¹ José Rizal is pronounced hô sã rê sãl'.

Military Government (1898-1901). — General Aguinaldo¹ was furnished arms by the United States to help defeat the Spanish garrisons. He believed the Islands were to have their independence, and when he learned the contrary he led a revolt against the American forces, which was soon suppressed.

Philippine Commission (American Majority, 1901-1907). — During this period the sole legislative body of the Islands was the Philippine Commission appointed by the President of the United States. William Howard Taft headed the first commission and deserves credit for many constructive beginnings in such fields as education and sanitation.

One of the first acts of the commission was the importation from America of a boat-load of a thousand school teachers. Another great achievement of Mr. Taft was the settlement of the problem concerning friar lands. He went to Rome and arranged with the Pope that the Philippine government should purchase these lands for \$7,000,000, for which amount the Friar Land Bonds of the Philippines were issued. These lands were gradually sold by the government upon easy installments for homesteads. This friendly settlement brought the support of the church to the government, which was of inestimable value.

Philippine Commission (American Majority) and Assembly (1907-1913). — The legislative powers were vested in the popularly elected Philippine assembly and the commission which became the upper house. During this period Mr. Taft's influence continued — as Secretary of War under President Roosevelt, and as President of the United States. He had promoted a federalist party for closer political relations with the United States. This party, however, met with little success, and instead the nationalist party advocating independence became the dominant party. Because Mr. Taft had worked so wholeheartedly for the development of the Philippines and had hoped to settle the Philippine question without independence, he grew colder towards the Filipinos, feeling that they were ungrateful for what he had done.

¹ Aguinaldo is pronounced ä'gê näl'dō.

Philippine Commission (Filipino Majority) and Assembly (1913-1916). — Woodrow Wilson became President in 1913, and by developing self-government for the Islands he reversed the policy of President Taft.

Elected Assembly and Senate (1916). — In 1916 Congress passed the Jones Act which created a popularly elected senate to replace the old appointive commission. Thus the Islands enjoyed two popularly elected houses.

Recent Government. — The Filipinos were nationals of the United States but not citizens. They enjoyed most of the privileges of citizens, such as protection when traveling abroad and the right to enter the United States, but all parts of the United States Constitution did not apply to the Philippine Islands.

The United States Congress was the supreme legislative body for the Philippine Islands. All of the laws enacted by the Philippine legislature were reported to Congress. Congress reserved the power to annul them, but in practice never found it necessary to exercise this power.

The United States President appointed the governor-general of the Philippine Islands with the consent of the Senate for an indefinite term; therefore, he could determine the policy of the executive department of the government. He appointed the judges of the supreme court for the Islands, and he could veto certain acts of the Philippine legislature.

The Governor-General had general supervision of the departments and bureaus of the government, granted pardons, submitted the annual budget to the legislature, and with the consent of the Philippine legislature appointed the chief officials.

The Legislature consisted of a senate and a house of representatives. The senate was composed of 24 members chosen in 12 districts for terms of six years. The house of representatives was composed of 90 members chosen in 90 districts¹ for terms of three years.

¹ Two of these senators and nine of these representatives were appointed by the governor-general for indefinite terms to represent the non-Christian tribes.

Members of both houses were chosen by a restricted manhood suffrage until 1935, when suffrage was extended to women.

The Acts of the United States Congress did not apply to the Philippine Islands except when they specifically so provided; but the Philippine legislature had general legislative powers with certain fundamental restrictions and specific provisions enumerated in the Jones Law. Every bill that passed the two houses had to have the approval of the governor-general unless it passed over his veto by a two-thirds vote of each house, in which event it became law if approved by the President of the United States.

The following laws did not become effective until approved by the President of the United States: laws with reference to land of public domain, timber, mining, tariff, immigration, currency, and coinage. All laws passed by the legislature had to be reported to Congress, which could annul them but never did so.

Representation in Congress. — Two commissioners elected by the Philippine legislature for terms of three years represented the Islands in Washington. They received annually from the United States treasury \$10,000 salary, \$2000 for mileage, an allowance for clerks, and had offices in the House Building.

Taxes. — The Philippine legislature levied internal revenue taxes for the Islands and customs duties on commodities imported from countries other than the United States; but Congress provided that neither country should tax the native products imported from the other country. However, each country imposed the internal revenue tax upon such articles from the other country as were taxed at home. This revenue was returned to the government of the country from which the goods were shipped. The Philippines could not levy an export tax.

Finances. — The Philippine government paid its own expenses, including the salaries of Americans in their government service, but not including the cost of the American Army and fortifications in the Islands.

Good Intentions of the United States. — Under the recent American régime the United States sent to the Philippines its

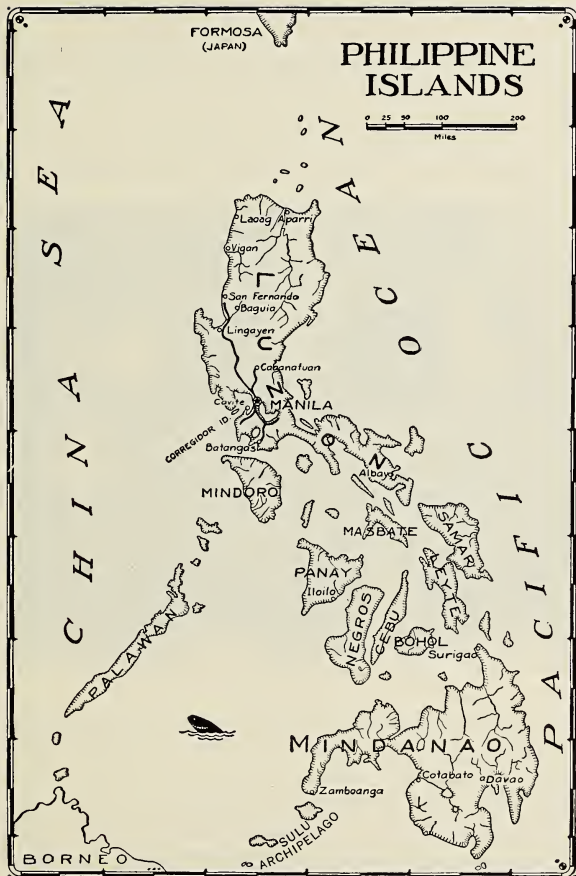
very best men to serve as governors-general. It built forts and supported its own army in giving protection to the Islands. It refrained from selfishly exploiting the public lands or natural resources of the Islands. But through its tariff laws it did require the Filipinos to have free trade between the two countries; and American race prejudice led to unfortunate results.

Economic Problems. — The American policy in the Philippines was, on the whole, one of non-exploitation. The natural resources of the Islands were preserved almost intact for the Filipinos. There were millions of acres of public lands suitable for the production of rubber, but the land laws limited the area of public lands which could be granted to one corporation to 2500 acres. These laws delayed development and prevented a \$100,000,000 annual production of rubber which could have been produced in about ten years if American capitalists had been permitted to acquire large tracts of unused lands.

The Independence Act of 1934. — In 1934 Congress passed the Philippine Independence Bill and President Roosevelt signed it.¹ This Act authorized the Philippine legislature to call a convention, not later than October 1, 1934, to draft a constitution for a republican form of government. The convention was called and the constitution was submitted to the President of the United States early in 1935. He found it to conform to the Independence Act, and the Philippine legislature submitted it to the Philippine voters on May 14 of the same year.

The constitution was approved by an enormous majority, and the governor-general, within thirty days after notification by the legislature, proclaimed an election for the officers of the new government. These officers were chosen within the six months prescribed by the Independence Act. When these officers were installed, the property rights of the United States

¹ In 1933 President Hoover vetoed an independence act because he favored an independence referendum 15 or 20 years hence. He advised trade preferences similar to those between the United States and Cuba. He further held that we should withdraw entirely when granting independence, and not assume responsibility without authority — especially in view of the fact that it is only a night's run from Formosa to the Philippines.



were transferred to the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands, except land previously designated by the President for naval purposes. The Cavite Naval Base and the fortified Corregidor Island at the entrance to Manila Bay are examples of such land.

On the fourth of July immediately following the expiration of a period of ten years from the date of the inauguration of



PRESIDENT QUEZON AND HIS DAUGHTERS

the Commonwealth government, the President was to proclaim withdrawal from the Islands, except from designated naval reservations and fueling stations.

During the ten-year period the Philippine government sent a resident commissioner to the United States at its own expense (instead of the two commissioners formerly paid by the United States). The United States sent a high commissioner to the Philippines at our expense (instead of the governor-general formerly sent at their expense). The high commissioner had access to the documents of the Philippine government to see that the conditions of the Independence Act were observed.

Safeguarding American Interests. — Our Government had spent nearly a billion dollars in the Philippines during our régime ; it was morally obligated in respect to bonds totaling \$97,848,000 ; American shipping interests had carried Philippine trade valued at more than a hundred million annually ; and private individuals in the United States had an investment of about \$257,000,000 in the Islands. Therefore a number of financial provisions in the Act attempted to protect American interests as much as possible.

Constitution of the Philippines. — The Filipinos were not satisfied with the Independence Act ; but it was the best they could get, so the Philippine legislature voted unanimously to accept its provisions. A Constitutional Convention met in the autumn of 1934, framed a constitution and submitted it to the President early in 1935. After approval by the President it was approved by a large majority of the Filipinos voting thereon.

Bill of Rights. — The document has a bill of rights consisting of 21 sections, including the provisions of the Bill of Rights found in the first ten Amendments of the Constitution of the United States.

Suffrage is extended to males over 21 years of age, and to women if as many as 300,000 women vote in favor thereof. This was done in 1937.

The National Assembly until 1941 consisted of one house with members chosen by the voters for terms of three years, but in that year a Senate of 24 members was added.

An Electoral Commission decides questions relating to disputed elections and qualifications of members of the national assembly. This commission is composed of three judges of the Island's supreme court, three members of the majority party, and three of the largest minority party of the national assembly.

A Commission on Appointments, consisting of 21 members, is elected on the basis of proportional representation of the parties of the national assembly. The president of the Philippines appoints the more important officers with the consent of this commission.

A Commission on Impeachment, consisting of 21 members, is elected on the basis of proportional representation of the parties of the national assembly. This commission, by a vote of two thirds of its members, has the sole power of impeachment. The national assembly, by a vote of three fourths of all members who do not belong to the Commission of Impeachment, has the sole power to try and convict officers impeached.



THE PRESIDENT'S MANSION

This building used to be the executive hall of the governor-general until the office was abolished in 1935.

A President and Vice President are elected by a direct vote of the people for the term of four years. A president cannot serve more than two consecutive terms. His powers are similar to those of the President of the United States; but he may veto specific items in appropriation bills; may declare war with the consent of two thirds of the members of the national assembly; and may, with limits imposed by the national assembly, impose tariff rates.

The Budget is submitted by the president at the beginning of each regular annual session, and the national assembly may not increase the appropriations therein recommended by the

president, except the appropriations for the national assembly and the judicial department.

Judges are appointed by the president with the consent of the Commission on Appointments, and hold office during good behavior.

Constitutionality. — A law or treaty cannot be declared unconstitutional by the supreme court except by a vote of two thirds.

Language. — The national assembly may adopt a common national language based on one of the existing native languages. Until otherwise provided by law, English and Spanish shall continue as official languages. Pending independence the schools are conducted primarily in English.

Public Utilities. — No franchise for a public utility shall be granted except to citizens of the Philippines, or to Philippine corporations in which Filipinos own 60 per cent of the stock.

Amendments. — The national assembly, by a vote of three fourths of all its members, may propose amendments to the Constitution or call a convention for that purpose. Amendments are ratified by a majority of the people voting thereon.

Commonwealth and Republic. — The government shall be known as The Commonwealth of the Philippines until the end of the ten-year period, and thenceforth as The Republic of the Philippines.

Resident Commissioner to the United States. — During the ten-year period a resident commissioner shall represent the Islands in the United States. He is appointed by the president of the commonwealth with the consent of the Commission on Appointments.

A United States High Commissioner is appointed by the President of the United States to represent the United States in the Commonwealth of the Philippines during the ten-year period.

Intervention by the United States. — During the ten-year period the President of the United States may intervene for the preservation of the government of the Commonwealth of the Philippines ; for the protection of life, property, and liberty ;

and for the discharge of government obligations under the constitution.

The President of the United States Must Approve Amendments to the Constitution during the Ten-Year Period.

Japanese Conquest of the Philippines. — *Why We Were Unable to Defend It.* — After passing the Philippine Inde-



Courtesy The Oregonian

THE BOY WHO RAN AWAY FROM
HOME

pendence Act the United States Congress was naturally unwilling to spend enormous sums of money to strengthen the defenses of a country that insisted upon its independence of us. Also, when the proposal to build elaborate defenses at Guam was before Congress many Congressmen felt that the main value was for the defense of the Philippines which we were losing. Others opposed the defense of Guam because it would offend the Japanese; and Congress voted against the fortification of Guam.

As soon as Japan started the war against the United

States it seized Guam and battered our fleet at Pearl Harbor. Therefore we were unable to send re-enforcements, or even supplies except some emergencies by air, to our small army in the Islands. The Japanese were near by and had everything planned for a rapid invasion, which was hard to resist because there were thousands of miles of coastline where surprise landings could be made.

General Douglas MacArthur was commander of the American troops and of the Philippine troops, and with his small American

force and only partially trained Philippine force he made a brave defense against overwhelming troops and supplies for about five months. But finally, when help could not be sent to him, other than one very effective bombing expedition from Australia, and when it was certain that his last stand on Corregidor Island was untenable, he and his wife and child dashed from the island one night on a small but very fast boat from which they were transferred to an aircraft that carried them safely to Australia.



“OLD GLORY” LEADS A NEW NATION TO FREEDOM

Government in Exile. — President Quezon and his family also made their escape and flew to Australia and thence journeyed to the United States where he now heads the “Philippine Government in Exile” which is co-operating with our President in our fight against Japan. President Quezon is still counting on the independence of the Islands on July 4, 1946, as promised.

Still Want Independence. — Even if their material prosperity has been promoted under the American flag, they prefer to go their own way. They do not want to be a “bird in a gilded cage.” Manuel L. Quezon said: “We are like, let us say, a young married couple starting out in life. The mother-in-law is helping run their establishment. She may be a perfectly admirable woman, kind, generous, affectionate, wise, and the

best cook on earth, but the young household does not want her, ought not to have her, and can never enjoy the happiness that comes of self-support, self-expression, and self-control, until the dear old dame has withdrawn her hands from the affairs of the new home. A block down the street, or across the river, the household thinks of her with profound affection and regard, maintains the friendliest association, and is always her warmest friend and champion, but it does not want her forever stirring the pot and dominating the bill of fare."

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. How did the United States acquire the Philippines?
2. What is the size and population of the Philippines?
3. Describe the racial composition of the Filipinos.
4. What are their personal characteristics as to: (1) cleanliness, (2) pride, (3) manners, (4) hospitality, (5) domestic habits, (6) education, (7) attitude towards women and position of women?
5. Describe the language situation in the Islands.
6. What did the Spanish take to the Philippines?
7. Tell of José Rizal and his revolt against Spain.
8. Through what five stages did the United States grant an increasing amount of home rule to the Filipinos? What of importance was done during this period?
9. How were the Philippines governed before the Independence Act?
10. What legal status have the Filipinos had instead of citizenship?
11. Explain how the American policy was not one of exploitation.
12. Why did the United States offer independence to the Philippines? When was it to take effect? How were the Filipinos represented in Washington and how were we represented in the Philippines? What were the tariff relations between the countries?
13. What are some of the outstanding features of the Philippine constitution?
14. What were the outstanding reasons for the fall of the Philippines to Japan?

PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION

1. The Filipinos are the only Christian nation in the East. Does this fact make American and English literatures more acceptable to them than Oriental literatures?
2. Just before his death General Wood said: "I believe that with proper equipment, necessary scientific personnel, and proper arrange-

ments for the care and treatment of the lepers, we can eradicate leprosy in the Philippines. The lepers are the most afflicted and unfortunate of God's creatures, and everything that can be done for them should be done. At present the Insular Government cannot be asked to do more than it is now doing." In appreciation of his services 50,000 Americans gave a total of \$2,000,000 to the Leonard Wood Memorial for the Eradication of Leprosy. Did the United States send great men to the Philippines as governors-general?

3. William H. Taft called the Filipino "brother," but the American soldiers replied with the song, "He may be a brother of William H. Taft, but he ain't no brother of mine." This typifies the racial prejudice held by Americans. Do you think racial prejudice results in a hostile feeling on the part of other people whom we attempt to govern?

4. Some years ago, on his return from the Philippine Islands, the former Senator Hiram Bingham said, "I was greatly surprised in Manila at finding that American officials and other members of the Army and Navy Club there were not allowed to take prominent Filipino citizens and office holders to lunch or dinner at the exclusive club. I understand the Filipinos are not eligible for membership and are not welcomed to cross its threshold as the guests of members. This, it seems to me, is a very serious and great mistake. . . . If the cultured and prominent Filipinos were received socially by the leading army and navy families one of the principal causes for the agitation of Philippine independence would be at an end. I think it a great mistake that the wives of the leading Filipino officials are not received socially by the wives of the leading American officials, with the exception of the Governor-General. If the spirit of inter-racial equality which exists in a marked degree in the Hawaiian Islands prevailed in Manila I believe that many of our present problems in the Philippines could be readily solved." What two groups of people from the United States established these differences in racial precedents in these two dependencies?

5. Adolph Hitler said that the United States will give up the fight because it is not fighting for anything. Is Hitler right or wrong? Are we fighting for spoils like Hitler or for human rights of peoples of all lands? Will soldiers fight longer for spoils or for principles? In the long run would it be more profitable for us to invade Canada and Mexico as Hitler invades his neighbors or to bring about the freedom of the Philippines and China and India?

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AIR VIEW OF CORREGIDOR ISLAND



FORT MILLS ON CORREGIDOR, BEFORE THE JAPANESE TOOK IT
In the background is Bataan Peninsula.

CHAPTER XXVII

JAPAN AND IMPERIALISM

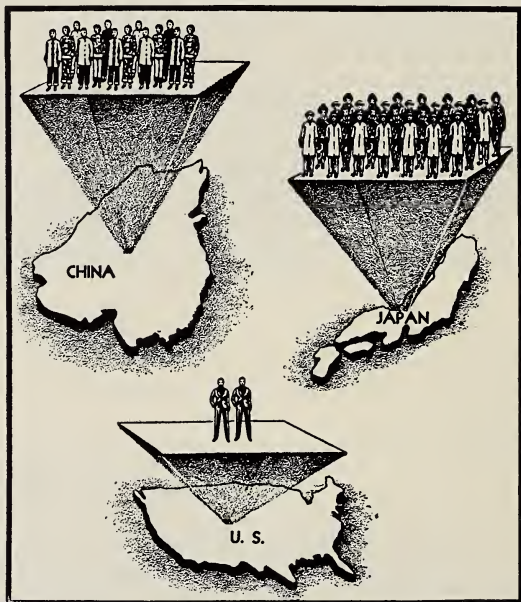
The People of Japan. — About the fifth century B.C. two races of immigrants came to Japan and gradually drove the fierce and warlike native Ainus north beyond the main island. One of these races came from the northwest and was Mongolian. The other race probably came from India and mixed with the Malays on the way, but is doubtless Aryan in origin. The Mongolian element, which constitutes the common people of Japan, is about twenty times as numerous as the Aryan element. The latter has been the ruling caste of Japan for centuries.

The bulk of emigrants to other countries is from the lower caste. Therefore, people living in the eastern part of the United States, who are acquainted only with Japanese officials and students of the upper caste, do not understand the attitude of the Californian, who, in the main, comes in contact with Japanese of the lower caste.

Geographical Features. — It is not generally realized, perhaps, that territories under the control of Japan today extend from the 90th meridian to the 175th and from the 54th parallel to about 10 degrees south of the equator. When the cherry is in bloom in Japan, the cocoanuts may be ripening in the mandates in the South Seas, and snow may be covering the northern parts of the Empire. Japan proper is about the size of Italy. But Japan "improper" stretches from Manchoukuo through Korea to the borders of India and Australia, and a network of islands extending to the equator in a broad crescent between Hawaii and the Philippines. These dots of islands cover an area 1300 miles long and 2700 miles wide and are so close together that the traveler is seldom out of sight of land.

The southern part is almost unknown to the western traveler, as American and all other foreign ships are barred from its ports,

and visitors are discouraged. Japan obtained these islands as mandates of the League of Nations before she withdrew her membership. Populated by emigrants from Japan, and developed by them, the islands have become an integral part of the Empire; and Japan definitely stated that she will never return them to their former owners.



Courtesy Foreign Policy Association

AN INTERESTING COMPARISON

This graph shows the number of people in China, Japan, and the United States who must live off the produce of one square mile of farm land. Each figure represents 100 people.

Population of Japan. — Japan proper has a population of 70-odd millions, with the rate of increase at about one million each year. But as only about 15 per cent of the land is tillable it has a population density of 2750 per arable square mile as

compared to 229 in the United States. There is little iron or coal, and no wool or cotton, so it is evident why the Japanese have sought resources beyond their island Empire. The addition of Korea and Manchoukuo to Japan increases the Empire's population to roughly 130,000,000, or about the same as the United States. But this figure does not include population acquired since entering upon her 1937 conquests in China.

Characteristics of the People. — Schooled through recurring disasters, the Japanese have become accustomed to frequent hardships. Japan has been called an island floating on a sea of fire. Fifty-eight of her 192 volcanoes are active, and frequent upheavals shower the surrounding country with debris and cinders. Often entire villages have been wiped out or covered with molten lava. Earthquakes are a natural part of the volcanic outbursts and have become major disasters on several occasions. The 1923 earthquake that destroyed half of Tokyo and all of Yokohama at a loss of over 100,000 lives was perhaps the greatest catastrophe in all history. The 1934 typhoon which blew or washed the northern part of the island into a desolate mass took 3000 lives and cost \$300,000,000, which meant terrible suffering among the rural people whose farms as well as homes were destroyed.

Beside the brute forces of nature which have bred a hardy fighting people who can face hardships and war, there has developed a strong love for the artistic and beautiful in nature. Few peoples of the world have achieved the artistic sense that is common among the Japanese; but in war they can become most cruel.

Early Contacts with the West. — The Portuguese discovered Japan in 1542. Missionaries and traders entered the country and were well received. In fact, the Japanese themselves built seafaring craft which plied the Pacific Ocean. But when the missionaries attempted to combine temporal with spiritual power, the Japanese, fearing the loss of their national independence, forbade the practice of Christianity, expelled foreigners, and closed the country to them.

The Dutch, however, were permitted to come to Nagasaki to

trade, but were limited as to the number of vessels and had to pay tribute to the Shogun.¹ They also had to submit to great humiliation.² The fact that the Dutch would submit to humiliation for the sake of commerce caused the Japanese to consider foreigners mercenary and inferior.

The United States Opens Japan to the West. — The United States endeavored to gain entrance to Japan in 1837, 1846, and



PERRY LANDING IN TOKYO BAY IN 1853

in 1853, but did not succeed until 1854. In 1853 Commodore Perry's squadron of steam vessels entered Tokyo Bay, belching forth black smoke which created a panic among the Japanese, for they had never before seen steamships. Perry carried a personal letter from President Fillmore to the Japanese Em-

¹ The word "shogun" means "general," and is applied to the military officer of the highest rank, who was in reality the highest authority from the twelfth century until the middle of the nineteenth century. The Emperor (Mikado) remained the titular head of the government.

² When the Ambassador of the Dutch trading company was granted an audience by the Shogun, "he crawled on his hands and knees, to a place shew'd him, between the presents ranged in due order on one side and the place where the Emperor sat on the other, and then kneeling, he bowed his forehead quite to the ground, and so crawl'd backwards like a crab without uttering a single word. So mean and short a thing is the audience we have with this mighty monarch." Kaempfer's *History of Japan*, 1691.

peror.¹ He also carried numerous valuable presents, including a miniature railway with engine and cars, and telegraph instruments. The Japanese received the President's letter but refused to conclude a treaty. Perry did not insist upon a treaty, but told them that he would return with a larger squadron in the spring for his definite answer. On this second trip he succeeded in making a treaty which permitted the United States to send a consul to Japan.

The West Sends a Punitive Expedition. — The Prince of the province of Choshu, which borders the straits of Shimonoseki between Japan and Korea, was anti-foreign and was unwilling to abide by the treaties which the Shogun had made with the foreigners. He fired upon passing vessels. The Shogun was unable to give relief, so a fleet of Dutch, English, French, and American war vessels defeated the Prince and obtained a three-million-dollar indemnity from the Japanese government. This episode is called the "Shimonoseki² Affair."

The United States Befriends Japan. — America's first consul to Japan, Townsend Harris, spent many years there as consul-general. He was a true Christian and never took advantage of the diplomatic inexperience of the Japanese. In fact, the United States befriended the Japanese in many ways during the latter half of the nineteenth century. As the United States had but one vessel in the punitive fleet sent against Japan, and that a chartered Dutch vessel, her fourth of the spoils (\$750,000) was considered excessive and by Act of Congress twenty years later it was returned to Japan with interest. Japanese cadets were trained at our West Point Military Academy; and at the time of the Russo-Japanese War sentiment in the United States was overwhelmingly favorable to Japan.

Some of the nations of Europe took advantage of Japan's inexperience and drove hard bargains. So Japan concluded that the only way to obtain a full measure of justice was to do as the western nations had taught her — "use the big stick."

¹ The letter was really to the Shogun, as it was he who exercised authority and not the Emperor.

² Shimonoseki is pronounced shē'mô nô sã'kê.

The dominant caste in Japan had always been more or less militaristic; therefore it readily imitated western armies and navies.

The Chinese-Japanese War over Korea. — Backward states have been called the “stakes of diplomacy” because they are valuable considerations for which diplomats have been tempted to play the game. Korea, which had long been corruptly misgoverned, became such a stake. Because Japan was reforming along western lines, the Koreans considered them traitors to the Oriental ideals and did much to vex them. Japan pressed certain claims upon Korea. China resented them. Finally, a Korean insurrection in 1894 precipitated a war between China and Japan. In this war China was defeated in seven months. China as well as Japan had employed western drill masters and had bought western artillery, but Japan had been more receptive to the mechanical progress of the West and was united, while China was accustomed to local autonomy.

In the treaty of peace the independence of Korea was acknowledged; Japan was ceded the island of Formosa and Kwantung¹ on the Liaotung¹ peninsula, which contains the fortress of Port Arthur; and China paid an indemnity of 200,000,000 taels — about \$100,000,000. Over a period of five years Japan made numerous declarations of its intention to preserve the integrity of Korea, but in 1910 Korea was annexed to the Japanese Empire.

Under the Japanese rule the physical development of Korea was rapid, but the military rulers alienated the Koreans by extraordinary cruelties and injustices. The attempt to make of the Koreans loyal Japanese, speaking the Japanese language and worshiping the Japanese Emperor, proved a failure. Torture and floggings innumerable fanned the fires of Korean desire for complete independence. But an attempted revolt was put down with greater cruelty. The Korean people are not the patient, hard workers that the Japanese are, and with their traditional inertia have made the economic development of the agricultural resources into modern methods impossible. Economically Korea has been a liability to Japan.

¹ Kwantung and Liaotung are pronounced kwän döng' and lyou döng'.

The "Yellow Peril" Becomes the "White Peril." — Some European nations were surprised at the great strength shown by Japan in the war against China, and thought they saw a "Yellow Peril" — Japan absorbing the millions of China, and the two marching into Europe like Mongolian hordes of old.

Therefore, Japan was required to restore Kwantung to China. In March, 1898, Germany's ninety-nine-year lease of about 200 square miles on Kiaochow Bay (at Tsingtao) was signed. The same month Russia obtained a twenty-five-year lease of 538 square miles at Port Arthur — which Japan had just been required to return to China. And on the day after the signing of the Kiaochow¹ lease, France put in her successful demand for a ninety-nine-year lease of about 190 square miles on the shores of Kwangchow Bay, near the border of French Indo-China.

Nor was Great Britain to be ignored. She presently obtained a ninety-nine-year lease of 400 square miles near Hongkong and a lease of Weihaiwei,² just across from Port Arthur, "for so long a period as Port Arthur shall remain in the occupation of Russia." However, in spite of the transfer of Port Arthur to Japan in 1905, Great Britain remained in Weihaiwei. At the Washington Conference (1922) she promised to restore Weihaiwei to China, and did so in 1930.

The Russo-Japanese War. — Japan naturally resented and dreaded the "White Peril" of Russia, for Japan had the same motives for applying a Monroe Doctrine to China that the United States had for applying it to the weaker American states. Of course Japan resented having had Port Arthur taken away from her and handed over to Russia, who was building railroads and entrenching herself in Manchuria and threatening Korea. In 1904 Japan waged war against Russia. The Japanese swarmed through Korea, captured the Manchurian railroad leading to Port Arthur, captured Port Arthur, destroyed the Russian navy, and pushed the Russian line to the north. In 1905 Roosevelt invited the belligerents to hold a peace conference in Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

¹ Kiaochow is pronounced jyou'jō'.

² Weihaiwei is pronounced wā'hī'wā'.

By the terms of the treaty of peace, Russia transferred to Japan her twenty-five-year lease in the Liaotung Peninsula (increased to ninety-nine years during the World War), her railways and mining privileges in southern Manchuria, and the southern half of the island of Sakhalin.¹ Each country was allowed to keep armed railway guards in Manchuria. The Japanese were disappointed in not receiving an indemnity, for they thought they had inflicted a great defeat upon Russia.

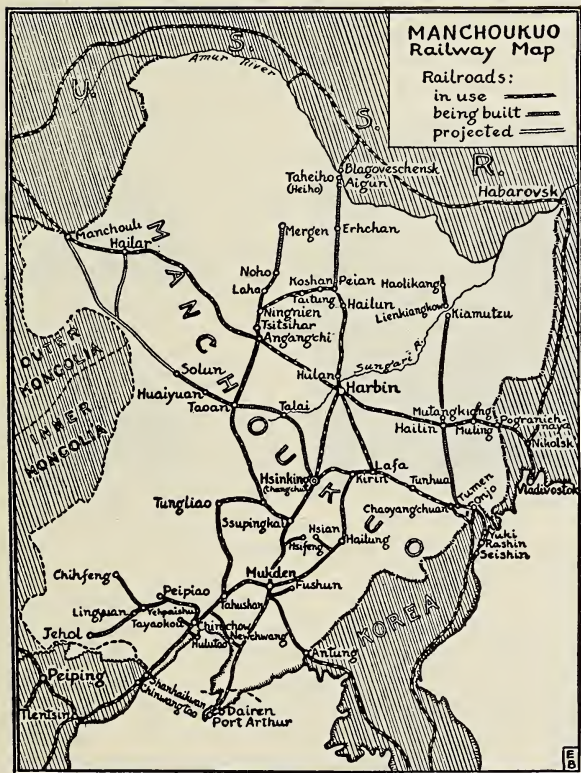
Japan Acquires the Railroads in Manchuria. — At Vladivostok² in 1891 the Czar of Russia laid the first stone for the Trans-Siberian Railroad; and to avoid Chinese territory the road was built by a circuitous route around Manchuria. In 1896 the Chinese government granted the Russo-Chinese Bank, really the Russian government, a concession to build a short-cut railroad across northern Manchuria to Vladivostok. This line was known as the Chinese Eastern. Before the Russo-Japanese War another road from Port Arthur to Harbin³ was built by Russia through her leased territory. Even with the Japanese as the dominating influence in Manchuria the Russian power through its railway interests was great. Not until the Manchoukuo government in 1935 bought the Russian interest in the Chinese Eastern Railway with Japanese finances did the entire foreign power in Manchuria shift to the Japanese.

Japanese Imperialism in Manchuria. — When Russia seized Manchuria in 1900 as a result of an incident in the Boxer Rebellion, but was forced to withdraw by the western powers, a rivalry between Russia and Japan over domination of Manchuria and Korea developed. In the peace treaty at Portsmouth in 1905 Japan was given the Russian leases of Kwantung Peninsula and the South Manchurian Railway. In this way Japan secured the land and harbor at Port Arthur as well as the railroad that she had tried to secure after the war of 1894. With this as an entering wedge the Japanese continued to gain power in Manchuria.

¹ Sakhalin is pronounced *sá'ká lēn'*.

² Vladivostok is pronounced *vlá'dí vōs tōk'*.

³ Harbin is pronounced *hār'bín'*.



Courtesy of Foreign Policy Association

The South Manchurian Railway has become an important factor in the administration of Manchuria. It not only is a railroad but is a government. It controls officials, collects taxes, supervises education and industry, owns and develops public utilities such as power plants and water works, maintains sanitation, owns and operates coal mines and hotels, acts as



Julian Bryan

A HUMAN SCARECROW

Labor in Manchoukuo is so cheap that men are hired to frighten away the birds in the fields of grain.

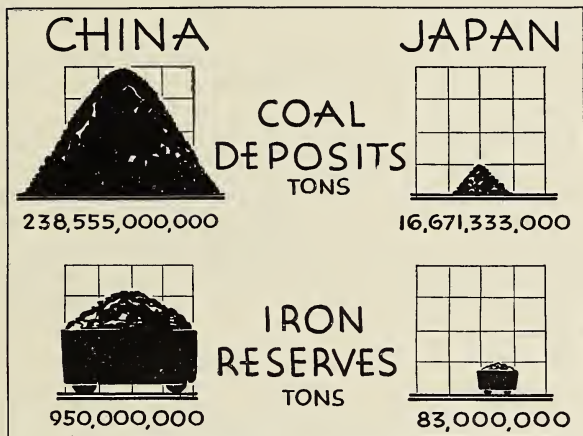
an investment company, and controls numerous manufacturing enterprises. The Japanese government has half of the stock in the company and directly appoints the administrative and executive officers. It may use the road for governmental and military purposes whenever necessary.

Japan's Stake in Manchoukuo. — Japan not only owns or controls the railways of Manchoukuo with subsidiary businesses, but it has built up-to-date sanitary cities, opened mines, developed shale deposits from which low-grade oil is extracted for the Japanese navy,

and increased the output of food products. Japan has also shifted some of its surplus population from the crowded centers of Japan; but this shift of population has not been very successful because the Japanese do not take to the colder climate readily and many have been forced to return to the homeland because of their inability to make a living in a land already full of Chinese.

Altogether, the government and subjects of Japan had invested about a billion dollars in South Manchuria. But what was more important, Manchuria supplied coal, iron, and food which Japan needed. In 1927, 91 per cent of the iron ore produced in China, including Manchuria, came from the properties which were

under Chinese-Japanese control ; and most of this was consumed by Japanese industries. The Fushun colliery, operated by the South Manchurian Railroad Company, is the largest open-cut coal mine in the world, and is invaluable to Japan. Instead of fish, Japan now uses Manchurian soy beans for fertilizing crops.



COMPARISON BEFORE INVASION

Japan Sets Up Puppet State of Manchoukuo.¹ — For several years Japan had a liberal government which agreed to the mutual limitation of armaments and signed the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact ; but as plans were being made for the Geneva disarmament conference of 1932 the militarists asserted themselves. In 1930 they had shot the liberal Premier, and in 1931 they forced military action instead of diplomacy in Manchuria.

In 1931 the massacre of some Koreans by Chinese (and counter massacre of Chinese by Koreans), the murder of a Japanese captain (in civilian clothes) in Manchuria by Chinese soldiers, and the burning of a railroad bridge on the South Manchurian Railroad, were the colorful incidents that aroused public passions.

¹ Manchoukuo is pronounced män'chōō'kwō'.

Therefore Japanese forces in Manchuria were increased; and when Marshal Chang offered resistance he was driven from Manchuria. Soon Henry Pu-yi, the Manchu "boy" Emperor, pretender to the throne of China who was deposed by the Republic, was installed as a puppet ruler of a new Manchoukuo state for Japan to dominate. In 1934 he was crowned Emperor Kang Teh.¹

The League of Nations sent the International Commission of Inquiry to settle some of the fundamental economic issues, or perhaps to assist in setting up a board of arbitration.

Japan claimed that she entered Manchuria to protect her subjects and to enforce treaties violated by China. China denied the secret treaty of 1905 regarding competing roads; and also denied the validity of the 1915 concessions growing out of the famous "twenty-one demands" to which the President of China agreed under compulsion without any ratification by a legislative body, and without any *quid pro quo* or consideration for China.

The League of Nations, the United States Department of State, and public opinion condemned Japan for violating the League Covenant, the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact, and the Nine-Power Treaty by which the western nations limited their fortifications in the Pacific for the promise by Japan of an "Open Door" in Manchuria.

In 1932 the International Commission issued the "Lytton Report," which recommended an autonomous Manchuria under Chinese sovereignty but with foreign advisers and the protection of Japanese rights. In 1933 Japan announced her withdrawal from the League.

Japan Invades China Proper. — From the taking of Manchuria (now Manchoukuo) to the middle of 1937 Japan was solidifying her positions and gradually expanding her sphere of influence as border incidents gave occasion. On the night of July 7, 1937, the Japanese troops came into conflict with the 29th Chinese army near Peiping. No one knows who fired the first shots or whether it was a planned incident to provoke a

¹ Kang Teh is pronounced käng' tǎ'.

general Japanese advance into North China. In any case Japan early dominated the whole of North China. In August, 1937, the Japanese captured Shanghai only after very hard fighting; and in November the British handed over to the Jap-



JAPAN'S HOLDINGS IN 1943

anese the Chinese customs of Shanghai, which up to that time had been under British control.

By the middle of 1938 the Japanese occupied almost 300,000 square miles in North China, 30,000 square miles along the lower Yangtze River, and a small area of South China. By

the end of the year practically all the coastal cities were in the hands of the Japanese and business was being reorganized under the Japanese, and most of the main lines of communication were being run by them throughout the central part of China. With the surrender of Canton without a struggle the main sea-ports were all held by the Japanese, and supplies to the Chinese cut off along the coast. Although the main lines of communication were under the control of the Japanese, the less accessible places were still China's and it was difficult for the Japanese to hold the territory because of the bands of loyal Chinese who harassed the soldiers of Japan. In some places it was necessary for the Japanese to remain in the military barracks at night because they could control the village by day but at night the Chinese dominated. The markets were open at night and did even larger business than in the daytime. The Chinese government had been forced into the interior to Chungking, having previously moved from Nanking to Hankow.

Effects of War on Japan. — Although officially war has never been declared by Japan, the nation has been placed on a war-time footing. The first Imperial Conference since 1914 was held on January 11, 1938, in the presence of the Emperor, and the government of the country was centralized into what amounts to a dictatorship. The economic life of the country has been brought under a governmental surveillance not unlike that of Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany; and the army is in control to such an extent that the civil government is often not even aware of army plans and projected conquests.

The effects of the war on the economic life of the country have been far-reaching. Since the beginning of hostilities real wages have dropped and the cost of living has gone up. Labor, too, is scarce and the Japanese children have turned to farming to aid the food supply with their unskilled labor, for most of the army has been recruited from the rural youth who have been the backbone of the agricultural laborers. Women have been used in increasing numbers in industry where skill rather than brawn is needed. The upper class of Japanese has not been as directly affected by the conscripting of soldiers except in pro-



JAPANESE CHILDREN TURN TO FARMING DURING THE SUMMER

viding officers, but have been bearing the cost of the war through huge increases in taxes.

In 1931-1932 Japan was rising phenomenally to a first-class industrial nation. Her goods were competing with and even running out the goods of the great capitalist countries of the West.¹ But after the taking of Manchuria the national budget had to be increased to maintain an army for pacification, and to prepare for further encroachments in China.

Japan has resorted to forced loans in order to meet the necessary wartime expenditure with the burden laid on the industrialists of the country. This diversion of money which could have gone for the building up of Japan economically has caused alarm and conflict between army leaders and industrialists. The export trade had shrunk more than 20 per cent in 1938, and since the imports of needed war materials far exceeded the exports, and the available foreign security or liquid assets had been exhausted prior to 1937, it was necessary to send abroad at least 300 million yen in gold which came from the national gold reserve. Of this the United States received \$84,300,000 in gold. Credit to Japan in 1938 was entirely cut off by the western nations. The United States broke off all trade relations in the summer of 1941.

The wealth of Japan has been concentrated into the hands of a few families. The Imperial family, the Mitsui,¹ and the Mitsubishi² have holdings that are vast and even of an international nature. At the other end of the social scale is a poverty as extreme as the great wealth of the few at the top.

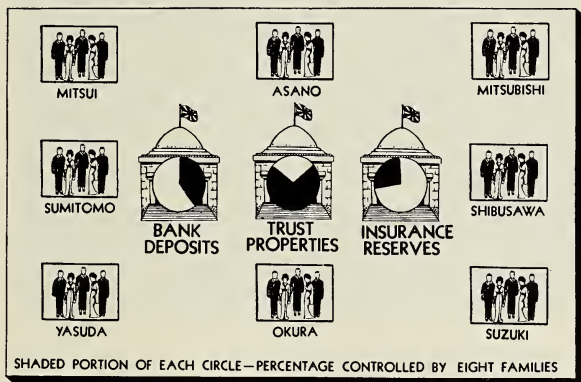
Japanese Reasons for the War on China. — The Japanese officially claim that they are fighting the war to prevent China from becoming communist, to put down banditry, to establish peace in the Orient ("Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere"), and to free the Chinese people from the tyranny of the war lords. Its immediate excuse for military intervention was the alleged firing by Chinese troops on Japanese troops.

¹ For an interesting account of the rise of Japanese trading see "Children of the Rising Sun," by Willard Price, 1938, Reynal and Hitchcock.

² Mitsui and Mitsubishi are pronounced mīt sōō'ī and mīt sōō'bē'shē.

Japanese Reasons for the War on China 479

Japanese apologists are able to give many reasons for Japanese expansion, however. The population of Japan is 50 per cent larger than that of France; yet the Japanese must live on an arable area which is only 12 per cent that of France. The average farm in Japan is only about two acres and is rapidly becoming smaller. Therefore it is said that Japan must find room for her growing population; and since the western world



Courtesy Foreign Policy Association

CONCENTRATION OF CONTROL OF JAPAN'S WEALTH

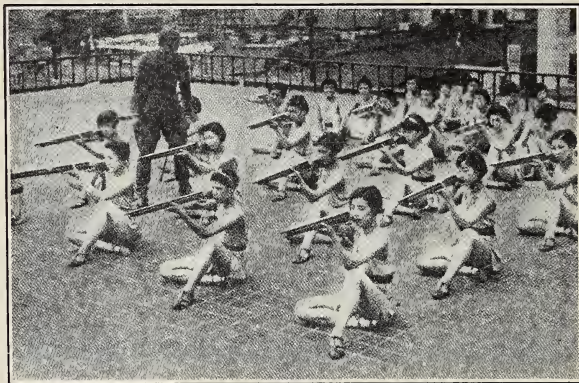
is closed to the Japanese, she must expand in the Orient. China is near, it is not well organized to resist aggression, it can supply many raw materials to Japanese mills, and it is rich in coal, iron ore, cotton, and cereals.

It is said that Japan may be fighting a war of prevention: that if she doesn't fight China now, China may become too strong ever to be subdued.

Others have attributed the aggression of Japan to the "growing pains" of imperialism which have characterized cycles of development in all the western nations at times in the past, such as the expansion of the United States through the Mexican and Spanish wars.

The facts are that following World War I Japan was governed

by Liberals who joined the League of Nations, withdrew their army from Shantung province, China, and limited their navy to 3-5 of the strength of the British or United States navy. Then the Nationalists assassinated Liberal leaders, got control of the government, and systematically prepared for conquests.



Courtesy of Current History

JAPANESE GIRLS GIVEN MILITARY TRAINING

The Government. — The Emperor. — The Japanese claim that their Empire was founded in 660 B.C. and that the dynasty still reigns. From the twelfth century until the middle of the nineteenth successive families of Shoguns exercised the chief authority, but in 1868 the power of the Shogun was overthrown.

Succession to the throne is through the male line. Hirohito,¹ who became Emperor in 1926 upon the death of his father, is the first Emperor to have enjoyed western travel; and his young brother was a student at Oxford University when the late Emperor died.

When Hirohito became Emperor he urged "simplicity instead of vain display; originality instead of blind imitation; progress in view of this period of evolution and improvement to keep up with advancing civilization; national harmony in purpose and

¹ Hirohito is pronounced hē'rō hē'tō.

action ; beneficence to all classes of people ; and friendship to all nations on earth."

The Emperor's power in Japan is far greater than the British King holds because the Emperor is closely tied up with the religious belief of the Japanese people. His symbolism as head of the state has been maintained, and imperial decrees or orders must be followed. Early in 1939 Hirohito ordered the Diet to pass an extraordinarily high budget that was questioned by the industrial interests because of the taxes that it would incur. This order was made necessary to save the nation at least temporarily from financial ruin and possible internal revolution.

The Constitution. — In 1871 the feudal system was entirely suppressed. In 1889 the present constitution was promulgated. This constitution establishes a unitary parliamentary form of government. On its face it seems to establish a present-day constitutional government ; but the inspiration came from Germany, so the Emperor became a sort of Kaiser. He made treaties, declared war and made peace, and his ministers were subservient to him. But this was gradually changed, and the Japanese government became more like that of Great Britain than like that of the old imperial Germany. The Cabinet members were unable to govern without the support of a majority in the House of Representatives, but the war has modified the constitution — at least for the time being. Militarists are now in the majority. However, the representatives of the Japanese people still have more freedom of speech than those of Germany.

The constitution is amended by a two-thirds vote of the members in each House, provided that two thirds of the total membership are present.

The Imperial Diet consists of two Houses, a House of Peers and a House of Representatives. The House of Peers, with about 400 members, contains some hereditary members. Because of learning or meritorious service, other members are appointed for life ; and still others are elected for seven years by the higher taxpayers. The House of Peers has a greater authority than the British House of Lords and in the past few years has even gained in strength.

The 466 members of the House of Representatives are elected for terms of four years, three to five being elected from each district. Universal suffrage of males over 25 years of age and a secret ballot have been enjoyed since 1925, when tax restrictions upon suffrage were removed.

The Privy Council acts upon the most important matters of state with the Emperor's approval before the Cabinet puts them



EMPEROR HIROHITO OF JAPAN

This is the first Japanese sovereign who has visited Europe. Note the distinctly "western" attire and the automobile that has found its way into Japan.

into action. The democratic front of the Japanese Diet and Cabinet is undermined by centers of political power behind this façade. The army and navy ministers cannot be civilians but must be ranking military or naval officers, and the backing of the army and navy is imperative in order to form a Cabinet. These ministers, however, although they have almost equal powers with the Premier in access to the Emperor, are partially superseded by the Supreme War Council, who can initiate or conclude military action without direct governmental action.

JAPANESE-AMERICAN RELATIONS

Japanese in California. — In 1882, the year we passed our first Chinese Exclusion Act, only five Japanese came to the United States; but the exclusion of Chinese laborers encouraged the immigration of Japanese laborers, and in 1907, when the Japanese question became acute in California, 10,230 Japanese entered continental United States (most of them settling in California), and 20,415 entered Hawaii.

Very few Japanese women came to the United States until the decade of 1900–1910, but during that time the number here increased rapidly and continued to increase as follows:

YEAR	FEMALE	MALE	PERCENTAGE OF FEMALE
1900	553	9,598	5.4
1910	6,240	35,116	15.1
1920	25,832	44,364	36.8
1930	41,016	56,440	72.6

Most of these Japanese women were known as “picture brides” because they were chosen by Japanese from photographs. They were granted passports by the Japanese government when Japanese consuls in America were satisfied that the men were suitable persons for marriage. The large numbers that came are indicated by the above figures, and protests against the rapidly increasing Japanese families resulted in an agreement with Japan in 1920 whereby Japan agreed to discontinue granting passports to picture brides.

Inasmuch as most of the Japanese women in California are married and have large families, the percentage of Japanese births was greatly out of proportion to the total number of Japanese.

The Gentlemen's Agreement. — In 1907 the School Board of San Francisco required Orientals to attend separate schools. President Theodore Roosevelt intervened and the Board modified its ruling, and merely required alien children older than the American children of the same grade to attend a special school.

By the Gentlemen's Agreement between Roosevelt and the Japanese government, the latter promised not to grant passports to laborers seeking to come to the United States. Four years later this agreement was annexed as a declaration at the end of our Treaty of Commerce and Navigation with Japan.

Also, in 1907, with authority of Congress, Roosevelt issued a proclamation excluding from the United States Japanese laborers who attempted to enter indirectly; that is, those who obtained passports for Hawaii, Mexico, or Canada and attempted to come to the United States through these countries.

Anti-Alien Land Legislation. — In 1913 the California Alien Land Law was enacted by a vote of 35 to two in the senate and 72 to three in the assembly, notwithstanding the fact that President Wilson sent Mr. Bryan, Secretary of State, to California to explain to the legislature that international relations between the United States and Japan would be critically strained by such a law.

Viscount Chinda, Ambassador from Japan to the United States, threatened to break off diplomatic relations with this Government because the law discriminated against the yellow races, which include Japan. In the course of an especially unsatisfactory conference he rose to leave, and said, "Is this the last word that America has to say about the matter?" If Bryan's answer had been "Yes," diplomatic negotiations would probably have been broken off and serious consequences might have occurred, but the situation was saved by Bryan's tactful reply, "There is no last word between friends." Negotiations were continued and a friendly adjustment was made.

This Anti-Alien Land Law of 1913 forbade the ownership, or lease for more than three years, of land by an alien not eligible to citizenship. The law was evaded by the Japanese through the purchase of land in the name of an American-born Japanese child, who is a citizen of the United States, and by purchasing stock in land-holding corporations in which the majority of the stock was owned by Americans. The Anti-Alien Land Law of 1920 entirely prohibits leasing land to aliens ineligible to citizenship, and prevents evasions practiced under the 1913 law.

Washington Naval Conference of 1922. — During World War I Japan gained possession of the German islands in the Pacific Ocean north of the equator. Immediately following World War I Japan started a naval armament race with Great Britain and the United States. International public opinion favored disarmament and at the Conference held in Washington in 1922 upon the call of Charles Evans Hughes the 5-5-3 plan was adopted which gave Great Britain and the United States five tons of naval vessels to each three tons for Japan.

The Immigration Act of 1924. — The Washington Conference of 1922 very largely healed the wounds to Japanese pride caused by the California land law of 1920. But the Immigration Act of 1924 re-opened the wounds. Whereas the Act restricted European immigrants to two per cent as many from any country as were in the United States from that country in 1890, it excluded altogether aliens ineligible to citizenship. As all Orientals, except those born in the United States, are ineligible to citizenship, this Act excluded Japanese immigration to the United States.¹ As Chinese and other Orientals had previously been excluded, it seemed to Japan that she had in this measure been singled out for discriminatory treatment. The Ambassador to Japan was so grieved that he resigned. All Japan was grieved and some felt the slight so keenly that they committed suicide.

Relations with the United States Become Strained. — Japan came to rely upon world trade to maintain her economy and the depression period seriously injured Nippon. China had boycotted Japanese goods, and markets were limited. During the early nineteen thirties Japan took Manchuria and set up the puppet state of Manchoukuo. In 1937 Japanese army leaders found an excuse to attack China. In 1940 Japan moved into French Indo-China with the Vichy Government's consent. The United States protested these moves but, other than loans to China and partial export restrictions through a licensing system, took no direct or economic action until 1941.

¹ The Act excluded all Japanese except officials, temporary visitors for travel or trade, ministers and professors with their wives and children, and students.

Crisis in the Pacific. — Over a billion dollars worth of petroleum, scrap iron, and other goods (most of which could be used for military purposes) had been sold to Japan between 1937, when Japan entered China, and 1941. The Chinese Government, backed by a popular appeal of our own citizens, urged our Government to discontinue trade relations with Japan. Finally the Japanese collaboration with the Axis Powers of Europe alarmed our Government, and in 1940 we allowed our trade treaty with Japan to lapse. Then in 1941 we gave Lend-Lease aid to China, helped to strengthen the British and Dutch positions in the Pacific, and finally placed a complete embargo on Japanese trade. At the same time we froze Japanese assets in the United States. Great Britain, the Netherlands Government, and a number of Latin American nations joined the United States in this trade embargo.

War. — In desperation over this “encircling movement,” Japan made seemingly friendly gestures which the United States believed to be in good faith, but at the same time she was treacherously preparing a “stab in the back” attack on the Allied Powers in the Pacific area. On December 7, 1941, Japanese forces attacked Pearl Harbor and the Hawaiian military bases, and the War was on. Because Japan had deliberately prepared for the War she marched rapidly on to conquest after conquest; but when we are prepared it will be time for Japan to give “about face” commands. Once more we shall prove that “he who lives by war shall perish by war.”

Relocating Japanese-American Evacuees. — *Suspected Japanese*, including those who had made regular trips to Japan or who were members of a Japanese society, were arrested by the FBI immediately after the attack on Pearl Harbor.

Army Draftees. — Native-born Japanese of military age performed military service the same as any other American citizen.

Exclusion from Prescribed Areas in Pacific Coast States. — In 1942, when Japanese invasion was feared, our army, under the authority of the President, ordered all Japanese removed from certain prescribed coastal areas. The wealthier Japanese sent scouts to spy out promising lands in interior states, but

the governors of all states except Colorado opposed colonization within their borders. Later in 1942 the 112,000 native-born and alien Japanese of the Pacific coast states were moved for the duration of the War to ten Relocation Centers back from the Pacific Ocean.

Relocation Centers are large tracts of Government-owned or leased land that can be irrigated. Families live in rough shacks, but eat in mess halls. The Centers are guarded by soldiers, but the internal government and institutions are largely in the hands of the Japanese, subject to the War Relocation Authority created by the President.

Work corps are organized in each Center to develop irrigation, to grow the food supplies, or to work at other industries. Work is voluntary; and for this work the family gets subsistence and the worker a small cash compensation. If an able-bodied adult male refuses to work on a project or in some camp service like a hospital, he must pay for his subsistence.

Releases for Work or Education. — On condition that they do not return to the proscribed coastal areas, and that they keep the War Relocation Authority informed as to their homes and work, the loyal Japanese are allowed to leave the camps for work or education. This method of distributing them should help solve the coastal states' Japanese problem because there the Japanese had settled more or less in colonies.

Our problem is to treat the relocated Japanese justly and retain their loyalty, as most of them were loyal when segregated.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Describe the geography and the people of Japan.
2. What foundations were there for distress about a "Yellow Peril"? A "White Peril"?
3. How did Japan obtain Korea? Manchoukuo? Has she benefited these countries?
4. Give the general location and area of all the possessions of Japan. How did she obtain her insular possessions in the tropics? Of what importance are they to Japan?
5. Give the reasons Japan has advanced for her aggression in China. Are they justifiable?

6. How does the government of Japan differ from that of Great Britain?

7. Explain the steps by which the friendly relations between Japan and the United States were broken.

PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Do you think that the United States was justified in insisting upon the right to send a consul to Japan when we entered treaty relations with the country through Admiral Perry?

2. Do you think Japan was justified in absorbing Korea?

3. Would you rather see Port Arthur under Japanese control or under Russian control?

4. As a result of knowledge of modern sanitation the population of Japan is rapidly increasing. Do you consider overpopulation an element of strength or of weakness to a country?

5. Do you think Congress should have excluded the Japanese in 1924, should have allowed the State Department to restrict immigration through a treaty or a Gentleman's Agreement, or should have placed Japan under the two per cent quota rule?

6. Japan has called its aggression in the Orient a Monroe Doctrine for the Far East in comparing her actions to our own. Is this a fair comparison? Is our Monroe Doctrine one of aggression?

7. More recently Japan has stated her aim as the creation of a "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere." Are her methods justifiable?

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CHAPTER XXVIII

CHINA

Historical Background. — The beginning of the Chinese nation was a band of Turanian wanderers who came from western Asia into the Yellow River Valley, possibly as early as 3000 B.C. These immigrants pushed out or absorbed the



GREAT WALL OF CHINA

Galloway

It is no longer a defense but a mecca for tourists.

aborigines whom they found in the land. In turn, other migrations from the West pressed in upon the Chinese, but they were able to resist them or gradually to absorb them.

As a barrier against the invasions of the Mongolian nomads, the Chinese erected the celebrated Chinese Wall. This great rampart was begun during the third century B.C. and was ultimately extended 1500 miles along the northern border of

China proper. However, the Mongols, a group of tribes in what is now northern Mongolia, under the leadership of Genghis Khan¹ and his successors, penetrated the walls and captured the site of Peiping in 1215, the year of the Magna Carta. Again, the Chinese were successful in absorbing the invaders.

In the seventeenth century the Manchus invaded China. They were related to the Mongols and occupied what is now Southern Manchoukuo, where they acquired something of Chinese culture. Taking advantage of dissensions among the Chinese, they defeated them, and the Manchu dynasty reigned from 1644 to 1911.

Thus Manchuria became a part of the Chinese domain. The tribes of Inner Mongolia, the section contiguous to China, soon submitted to Manchu domination; and in time Chinese rule was extended north into Outer Mongolia.

The conquest of Mongolia brought China into conflict with Tibet. The inhabitants of Mongolia were adherents of the Lama sect of Buddhism as were Tibetans, and the subjugation of Tibet was therefore a necessity if peace in Mongolia was to be maintained. The ruler of China soon found in a disputed succession to the throne of Tibet an opportunity for interfering in the internal affairs of that country. He therefore supported the leader of one faction, invaded the country, and maintained him by a garrison. Tibet thus became tributary to China, and is still claimed by China.

Trouble arose in Mongolia because of independent restless tribes on its border, and the disturbance became the occasion for the conquest of Chinese Turkestan (Sinkiang).

Area and Population. — China proper, before the Japanese invasion, consisted of eighteen provinces with an area of about 1,500,000 square miles — about half the size of the United States. These provinces are the historic China and the main home of the Chinese people. By 1942 most of the cities and railroads in China proper had fallen before the Japanese aggressors; but 90 per cent of the Chinese live in the country and most of them are still under China's control.

¹ Genghis Kahn is pronounced jěn'gǐz kǎn.

In addition to the eighteen provinces of China proper, the Chinese claimed at least suzerainty over four territories: (1) Manchuria (now governed as Manchoukuo under Japanese guidance and protection); (2) Inner and Outer Mongolia — Outer Mongolia having Russian encroachment; (3) Chinese Turkestan (Sinkiang), endangered by Russia; and (4) Tibet and Inner Tibet, whose control has been contested by Great Britain as a barrier against Russian expansion towards India. The total area of these territories is about 2,750,000 square miles, which made the total area of the Republic about 4,250,000 square miles.

The population of China is estimated at about 450,000,000, of whom 90 per cent live in the eighteen provinces. China has never taken a census that amounts to more than an approximation. With the exception of Manchuria the territories are semi-arid and occupied principally by nomadic tribes.

Climate and Natural Resources. — Most of China lies in the north temperate zone, but its climate is varied. Peiping occupies the latitude of New York City, Shanghai that of Savannah, and Canton that of Havana. The country is in large part mountain land and high plateaus, although a good portion of China proper is a low-lying alluvial plain. Most of the eighteen provinces are fertile and well watered, though floods and droughts produce frequent famines in certain localities. Modern transportation could alleviate much of the suffering from famine by bringing food from unaffected areas.

The mineral resources of China are extensive. Every one of the provinces has workable coal deposits, and deposits of iron are well distributed. Tin, copper, and petroleum also exist in quantities.

Language. — In China, even today, there is little communication; hence the spoken language has developed numerous dialects as different as English and German. Foreigners call the northern group of dialects Mandarin, or the official language, because one of its forms is the language of Peiping and was the court language. The southeastern provinces have their own dialects, and the southwestern provinces still different ones.

A few Chinese all over China have been educated in Peiping and can speak the Mandarin language.

Fortunately the Chinese written language is much the same throughout China. The earliest ideograph characters were attempts to picture natural objects. Later, as the mind developed, abstract ideas had to be pictured by combining characters. For example, the abstract idea of jealousy is written by placing the character representing a woman between two of the characters representing man. As there are about

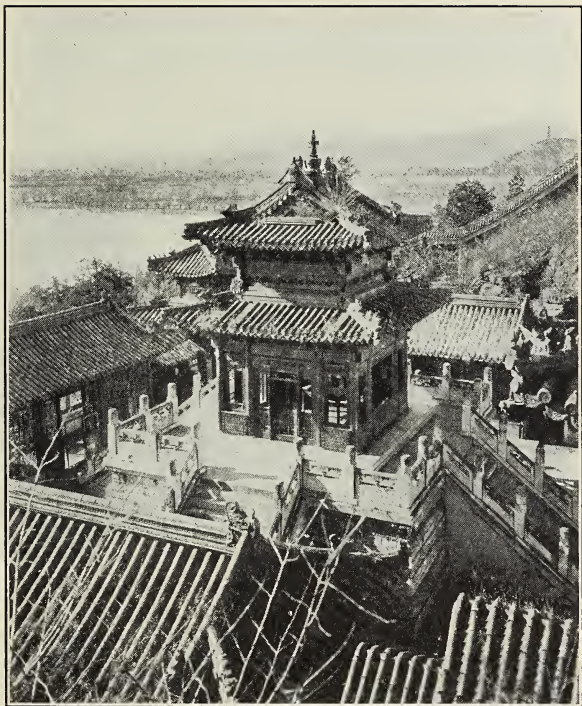


40,000 of these ideographic words, only about 10 per cent of the Chinese can read or write. There is now a so-called 1000-character movement, which aims to teach the illiterate Chinese one thousand of the "simplest and commonest" characters. Papers and propaganda tracts are circulated in a language restricted to these 1000 characters.

In many places there are simplified local characters which follow the spoken language more or less accurately. The Cantonese have flourishing local characters cultivated in early days by the missionaries in order to tie up the spoken language with the book language.

Religion. — The three great formal religions of China are Taoism, Buddhism, and Confucianism. *Taoism*, founded by the philosopher Laotse, is based on a *laissez faire* attitude towards life. "Be stupid" and "do nothing" in order to avoid trouble has appealed to the masses along with the superstitious ideas of fairies, demons, and the legends that would appeal to a childish mind. Its priests cast out the demons which have had so prominent a place in the Chinese imagination as the cause of disease, death, and misfortune. To the mass of the people, especially those having hardships, this religion appeals, and has been given as a cause for the lack of progress among the people.

Buddhism has as its ideal a moral life with heaven as a reward and hell as a punishment. Chinese Buddhism has undergone



BEAUTIFUL BRONZE SHRINE IN THE SUMMER PALACE AT PEKING
(PEIPING)

considerable modification and has appropriated elements from other faiths. It, too, is superstitious and largely formal. Most of the Buddhist priests are ignorant and some are corrupt.

Confucianism is a code of ethics rather than a religion. Confucius (551-478 B.C.) was a teacher, a statesman, and a reformer. He taught that the Emperor was the Son of Heaven, and as Son of Heaven the supreme religious as well as political head of the nation. His teachings have therefore been held in high esteem



PAGODA NEAR SUN YAT-SEN'S MAUSOLEUM ON PURPLE MOUNTAIN,
NANKING

by the Emperors, and the Manchu dynasty in its last years declared him to be "The Equal of Heaven and Earth." Official temples were erected to him and official sacrifices offered at stated times. Though Confucius taught many virtues he accepted the idea of ancestry worship; consequently for centuries China looked backward instead of forward.

Taoism, Buddhism, and Confucianism maintain the friendliest relations with each other. As death approaches, most Chinese call in either a Buddhist or Taoist priest, while their ethics are Confucian. These religions are so mingled and co-practiced that there is much truth in the Chinese saying

that the three religions are one. This enables the people to frequent whatever shrine they individually please.

There are more than five million Mohammedans, most of whom live in the northwest and southwest; but smaller numbers exist in almost every province. Roman Catholic missionaries have been working in China for three and a half centuries and now have gained as converts about two million Chinese. Protestant missions entered China in 1807 and their native converts now number more than a half million.

Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek are Christians. Her mother was converted at a Southern Methodist College in Shanghai, and the daughter was educated at Wesleyan College, Macon, Georgia, where she lived in the home of a Methodist Bishop. She then graduated at Wellesley. Chiang Kai-shek so respected his Christian wife and mother-in-law

and medical missionaries that he accepted Christianity. Her brother, T. V. Soong, Yale graduate, became the renowned finance minister of China. Her two sisters were also educated at Wesleyan College. One married Dr. Sun Yat-sen, first President of China, and the other married Dr. Kung.

China Loses Korea to Japan. — Napoleon advised the West not to arouse China, the "Sleeping Giant." But Japan aroused her in 1894 in the dispute over Korea, long known as the "Hermit Kingdom." Korea's geographical position made her the connecting link between the Chinese and Japanese, and



DR. IDA KAHN AND HER HOSPITAL
STAFF, NANCHANG

"Credit to whom credit is due."

she had been forced to profess allegiance to both countries. The Koreans were divided into two groups — the conservatives and those who favored reform. The former looked to China for aid; the latter to Japan. The Korean government was corrupt and inefficient.

When Japan proposed reforms for Korea, China blocked them because China opposed reforms, even at home. Korea was the natural field for Japanese commercial expansion and she would not permit it to be controlled by a larger power such as China or Russia. In 1894 when war broke out China was defeated in seven months. By the treaty of peace the independence of Korea was acknowledged. Japan was given an indemnity of 200,000,000 taels and was ceded the island of Formosa and the part of the Liaotung Peninsula which contained the fortress of Port Arthur.

The "White Peril." — The West, surprised at Japan's military power, thought they saw a "Yellow Peril." It saw the yellow races swarming over Europe like the Huns of old. But, instead of the yellow races overrunning Europe, the white races pounced upon China so as to entrench themselves before Japan should gain a footing. Upon the pretext that two Catholic priests had been lynched by Chinese, Germany seized the harbor of Kiaochow and forced China to "lease" it to her for ninety-nine years. In the German Reichstag on April 27, 1898, von Bülow said, "Mention has been made of a partition of China. Such a partition will not be brought about by us at any rate. All we have done is to provide that, come what may, we ourselves shall not go empty handed. The traveler cannot decide when the train is to start, but he can make sure not to miss it when it does start. The devil take the hindmost."

Russia followed Germany by obtaining a twenty-five-year "lease" on Port Arthur — the same port that Germany, Russia, and France had compelled Japan to re-cede to China, but which Japan again secured at the end of the Russo-Japanese War. The English obtained like privileges in Weihaiwei. France had already entrenched herself in Tonking.

Spheres of influence were developed by obtaining commercial

privileges from the Chinese government which were exclusive in certain areas. The race for building railroads, opening mines, and establishing trade became an international game. The treaties and agreements were not to the advantage of China in most cases. The British obtained control of the customs under the stipulation that as long as her trade in China was larger than that of any other power the head of the customs service should be a British subject. Although this had been modified at times,



CHINESE TROOPS OF ANOTHER DAY

After the Boxer Rebellion, China slowly began to modernize itself. The picture above shows how the troops used to look with Manchu queues.

the British held control of the customs until the Japanese invasion forced them to give over the customs offices in 1937 and 1938.

The Boxer Uprising. — This foreign exploitation of China of course led to resentment on the part of the Chinese, and in 1900 a society in North China called "Boxers" made a final effort to rid themselves of the detested "foreign devils." The Empress Dowager ordered officials to kill foreigners wherever found. Although many officials refused to execute this edict, a great number of foreigners and native Christians were brutally massacred. Those who could sought refuge in the legations

at Peking, where they defended themselves until foreign troops were sent to their rescue.

Among the penalties imposed upon China was an indemnity of about \$300,000,000 to pay for foreign losses resulting from the uprising. Also China agreed that foreign troops might be kept permanently at certain centers to protect the legations, where they soon resembled armed camps. The United States established a fund with the major part of the indemnity to the United States, to be used for education of the Chinese. Many students came to the United States universities as a result of this fund.

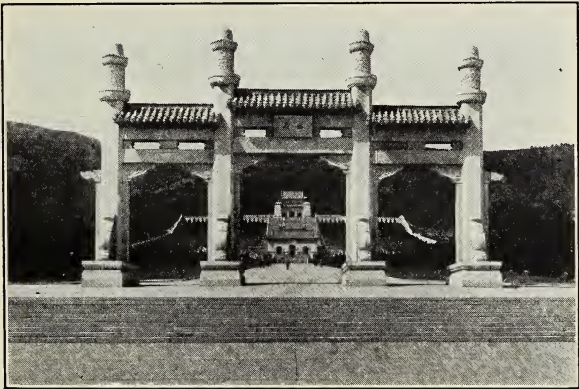
The Revolution of 1911. — The Manchu dynasty, the last of the long line of Chinese rulers, had been in power since 1644. The régime had become reactionary, corrupt, and inefficient. Extraordinary powers were granted to viceroys, who governed as they wished so long as the taxes or revenue to the central government were sufficient. The Chinese had learned from the Boxer Rebellion that only western reforms could save China. Secret societies were organized to overthrow the "foreign" Manchu government, and such Chinese as Dr. Sun Yat-sen carried on republican propaganda outside of China among Chinese and interested foreigners.

During the latter months of 1911 South China revolted and seized the three most important cities on the Yangtze River, — Wuchang, the steel center of China, Hankow, and Nanking on the railway line from Peking. With the fall of Nanking the military campaign was practically over.

Panic stricken, the court at Peking recalled Yuan Shih-kai, and made him Prime Minister and virtual military dictator. Realizing that peace could not be restored until the Manchus were deposed and that a conflict would invite foreign intervention, he entered into secret negotiations with the revolutionists. With them he agreed to (1) the abdication of the Manchu dynasty; (2) the establishment of a republic; and (3) the liberal treatment of the imperial family.

In December, 1911, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, a Christian, was made President by the National Council of the revolutionists; and

took the oath of office January 1, 1912. Yuan Shih-kai¹ forced the abdication of the Manchus by cutting off all resources to the Manchu Emperor, which ultimately impoverished them. The five-year-old Emperor, who is now the nominal head of Manchoukuo, was retired from the court with the appearance of a voluntary abdication and was adequately provided for. Yuan Shih-kai became the President of the Republic on March 10,



SUN YAT-SEN'S MAUSOLEUM, NEAR NANKING

1912. Possible plans to make him monarch were frustrated by his death in 1916. Since that time there has been a succession of revolutionary governments at Peking, with rapidly changing military dictators.

The people of South China, claiming that a constitutional government did not exist, set up a separate government at Canton with Dr. Sun Yat-sen as leader until his death in 1925. In other provinces military governors, called *tuchuns*,² arose and ruled like feudal lords of the Middle Ages in Europe.

The People's Party. — The only political group in China approaching the western conception of a political party is the

¹ Yuan Shih-kai is pronounced yōō ān' shē'kī'.

² Tuchuns is pronounced dōō jūn'.

Kuomintang.¹ The English translation of "Kuomintang" helps to explain the aims of the party. In Chinese "kuo" means country, "min" people, and "tang" or "tong" association. "Kuomintang" therefore means "association to bring the country into the hands of the people." It is half a political and half a patriotic organization. It has three basic principles set forth by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, its organizer, who since his death has come to be almost idolized throughout the country:

1. People's Nationalism — The freeing of China from foreigners who have tied up the country by treaties dictated at the cannon point.

2. People's Sovereignty — Development of education and political democracy.

3. People's Livelihood — Better opportunities for Chinese business men; better conditions for Chinese labor. (In China women and children work as long as fifteen hours a day for a few cents.)

The Nationalists in Control. — After Dr. Sun's death the then young man Chiang Kai-shek² succeeded as leader of the Kuomintang, the Nationalist Party. As generalissimo of the Southern Nationalist forces, Chiang gradually advanced northward until in June, 1928, his forces occupied Peking, changing the name to Peiping,³ which means "northern peace." He captured this northern capital from Chang Tso-lin, the "Manchurian War Lord."

In the capture of Peiping, Chiang Kai-shek was assisted by Feng Yu Hsing,⁴ the so-called "Christian General." His strong

¹ Kuomintang is pronounced gwō'mǐn tǎng'.

² Chiang Kai-shek is pronounced chē āng' kī'shěk'.

³ Peiping is pronounced bā'pǐng'.

⁴ Feng Yu Hsing is pronounced fūng' yōō' sǐng'.

"Feng openly and repeatedly denounced the extravagance of the private lives of other Nanking leaders. He wore only the coarsest of coolie soldier uniforms, he went about unshaven, he refused to ride in limousines but went about on army trucks, sitting up beside whatever private soldier might be at the wheel.

"Declaring that rich food choked him while millions of Chinese starved, he refused to attend sumptuous official banquets. He lived simply in a little mud-walled house, and when Nanking's new mayor, an appointee of Chiang Kai-shek, built a \$50,000 home and spent \$10,000 on his wedding celebration, Marshal Feng not only denounced the wedding as a 'crime,' but built a one-room mud hut next to the mayor's mansion and ostentatiously went to that

anti-foreign attitude caused his expulsion from the Kuomintang in 1929 but by the time of the Japanese invasion of China proper Feng was again a leader in the Kuomintang. The occupation of Peiping by Feng and Yen Hsi Shan, the model governor of Shansi, in 1930 was ended with their defeat by Chang Hsueh-Liang, son of Chang Tso-lin, who occupied Peiping and supported Chiang Kai-shek until the Japanese forced him from Peiping.

When Chiang Kai-shek overran North China in 1928 he moved the capital to Nanking. The foreign embassies and legations, however, did not move to Nanking. Russia raised her legation in China to an embassy in 1924 — the first nation to do so. Italy followed in 1934, with the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany, and Japan doing likewise in 1935.

China Demanded Equality. — The Chinese Nationalists have wanted foreign powers to concede three things :

1. Chinese control of the courts.
2. Chinese control of the tariff legislation (obtained in 1929).
3. Chinese control of foreign settlements.

China had lost control of these three things by unequal treaties made with the powers during the last century. These treaties granted the powers (1) the right to try their own citizens in their consular courts ("extraterritoriality"), (2) the right to administer the Chinese tariff and restrict the amount of tariff China might impose, and (3) the most-favored-nation treatment. Most of these treaties contained the so-called "most-favored-nation clause" which said that anything China granted to one nation would be granted also to the others.

Japanese Covet North China. — After the war of 1931 (page 473), Japan made a treaty of her own with China in which China agreed to "demilitarize" North China. Thus, China agreed to remove this zone from the military jurisdiction of China. If China broke this agreement, Japan declared she could move her army into the territory to enforce the treaty.

hut and drank tea there daily with his friends while the mayor was entertaining with cut glass and silver on a mahogany table."



JAPANESE CONQUESTS IN THE FAR EAST

Courtesy American Observer

Japan declares that following 1931 China broke her treaty, did not demilitarize the zone, and that everywhere in North China there were independent war lords whom she regarded as a danger to her local interests and to her puppet government in Manchoukuo.

In September, 1935, Premier Hirota, then Foreign Minister, presented to the Ambassador of China in Tokyo a program which he thought necessary for China to accept as a basis for peaceful Sino-Japanese relations. In brief the program demanded (1) Sino-Japanese co-operation against communism, which would, in effect, legalize the sending of Japanese troops to any region where communism existed; (2) Chinese refusal to have any relations with an outside country except with Japanese consent; and (3) Chinese-Japanese-Manchoukuo co-operation in all economic matters which might call for an "economic bloc" embracing these three countries. Had China accepted this program she would have surrendered her sovereignty and become a huge Japanese puppet. The reply of China, while not a rebuke, was too vague to have any meaning.

Japan Invaded North China. — Japan's first open attempt to take North China came in the fall of 1935 when General Kenji Doihara, a Japanese military leader, almost succeeded in taking the five northern provinces. He brought pressure to bear on local Chinese war lords, arranging an "independence movement," and would have put it into effect if the Japanese military authorities had backed him up. The Chinese war lords sensed the situation and refused to co-operate. Doihara had to content himself with seeing Japan extend her influence in only two of the five provinces (Chahar¹ and Hopei²). In the summer of 1936 Japan resumed her aggression and forced her way into North China. She established official military headquarters within the international legation quarter in Peiping, which was considered a formal notice of her aggressive intentions.

Japan also crippled China's tariff revenue through her smuggling campaign. Instead of having her goods pass through

¹ Chahar is pronounced chā'hār.

² Hopei is pronounced hū bā'.

normal channels and pay the usual customs duties, the Japanese promoted wholesale smuggling of goods into China — especially opium.

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek Forced to Act against Japan. — *His Life Saved by His Wife.* — Like a movie thriller of Oriental intrigue was the kidnaping of General Chiang Kai-shek



GENERAL AND MADAME CHIANG
KAI-SHEK

in December, 1936, by his subordinate officer Chang Hsueh-Liang.¹ He had dissipated national energy in civil war with the communists. The Chinese communists and some of Chiang's own officers were in favor of a suspension of civil war in order to put up a united fight against the Japanese. As Chiang repeatedly refused to heed their advice of an agreement with the communists, some of his officers, of whom Chang Hsueh-Liang was the leader, arrested the General and held him captive in their rebel stronghold in Sian. The

rebels demanded that he adopt a policy of determined resistance to Japan. Chiang refused to negotiate under duress.

Under cover of darkness he attempted to escape from his mountain captivity, but in scrambling up the rocky crags of the mountain, he slipped and fell into a deep moat. He was found by rebel soldiers, whom he begged to shoot him if they must, but not to be disrespectful. The soldiers politely escorted him back to camp, where he asked that he might be given a Bible to solace himself until his fate was decided.

¹ Chang Hsueh-Liang is pronounced chāng' sō ā' lyāng'.

During this time Madame Chiang Kai-shek was in Shanghai in a state of nervous anxiety, for she could not get an accurate report of the situation at Sian. The military leaders were all for an immediate attack on Sian, but this would mean the certain death of Chiang. So Madame Chiang pleaded with the military authorities to withhold attack of Sian until she had exhausted all efforts at a peaceful settlement of the affair. They accused her of being an emotional woman pleading for the life of her husband, but in the end she proved to them that it was she who was reasonable and they who were excited.

Although her husband got a message to her telling her expressly not to come to Sian for fear she, too, would be held captive, she determined to fly into the rebel stronghold to free her husband. Accordingly she flew into Sian and was met by the rebel chief himself. Because of her bravery and courageous bearing before the rebel soldiers, she was accorded the utmost respect. Overcoming a natural emotion to see her husband, she asked to confer with the rebel chiefs. With consummate tact and diplomacy she persuaded the rebels that it was for the betterment of China to let Chiang go free, since he was the only one who could furnish a national leadership. She promised to convince her husband to make peace with the communists that they might all as unified Chinese fight Japan. Chiang later did as his wife suggested. When Madame Chiang was conducted to her husband, the General could not speak for emotion; tears came to his eyes as he realized that his wife had saved his life at the risk of great danger to herself. And thus did an American-educated Chinese woman outwit both the rebels and the military men who wanted to bombard Sian at the risk of the General's life.

Japan's Undeclared War Created a Unified National Sentiment in China. — The Japanese invasion has caused a considerable change in the character of the Chinese government. While Japan was engaged in taking the five northern provinces, the government at Nanking held aloof; it was vacillating and conciliatory toward Japan. But the Japanese, having thus far succeeded easily, began demanding the fall of the Nanking

government of General Chiang Kai-shek. A Japanese military attaché actually demanded the fall of the General. At what General Chiang Kai-shek considered Japanese insults, he began to take a firmer stand against Japan as he had promised Chang Hsueh-Liang to do. With student demonstrations all over China demanding a united stand against Japanese aggression, General Chiang Kai-shek began to feel the temper of the people. For the first time in its history China had developed a unified patriotism in the face of a common enemy. General Chiang Kai-shek began to muster forces and to solidify the nation. He put down incipient revolts, and concentrated the power of local war lords into his own hands. He centered diplomatic power in Nanking and declared null and void local Chinese agreements with the Japanese. His greatest stroke of statesmanship was his conclusion of an alliance with the Chinese communist armies with whom he had long held desultory warfare. The agreement was reached by a compromise whereby certain of the communist social reforms were to be adopted by Chiang Kai-shek's government in return for the placing of the seasoned communist troops under the control of Nanking. This communist force proved one of the greatest obstacles to the Japanese advance.

In all previous conflicts between Japan and China, China has been supine and inclined to concede to the Japanese demands without resistance. But in this conflict China has had a growing feeling of nationalism. Even the unexpressive coolies have become vociferous in their outcries against Japan.

Although the National Congress of the Kuomintang conferred dictatorial powers on General Chiang in 1938, the Chinese maintain that they have been attempting to set up a western type democracy, and that the dictatorship is only for the duration of the war.

China's army was badly organized and poorly equipped. The German military men who were hired to train the troops were recalled by Germany in 1938, and though Russia sent some aid, it was insufficient to check the Japanese onslaught. By the end of 1938 the Japanese had forced the Chinese forces back to

the mountain regions in the interior where the capital was set up at Chungking in Szechuan province. With transportation of munitions and foodstuffs a major problem, a rather strongly unified China has been making attempts to hold the western provinces that were partly fortified by nature and difficult to reach. For several months before the end of 1938 the coastal



CHINA'S NEW GENERATION

Vaccination is the first adventure in many a young man's life.

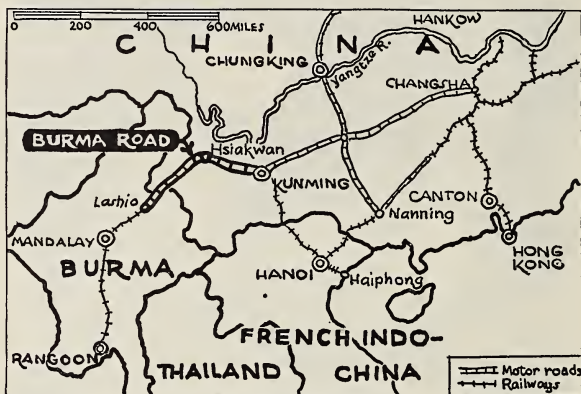
cities had been dismantling machinery and moving it upstream to Chungking, where efforts were made to produce necessary goods with meager equipment.

China's Relations with Western Powers. — *France.* — After Japan seized the ports of China, war supplies entered China by rail through French Indo-China until the Japanese seized this colony of France from the defeated Vichy Government of France.

Great Britain. — After Japan joined the Axis Powers Great Britain co-operated with the Chinese just as much as she was

able to do without bringing Japan into the war before the United States entered. For instance, she extended credit to China, and after some wavering she assisted in getting war supplies through Burma after the Indo-China route was closed.

United States. — In December, 1938, the United States, through the Export-Import Bank of New York lent China \$25,000,000 with which to purchase supplies in the United States. Addi-



THE BURMA ROAD

In 1941 this road was the only way of getting war supplies to the Chinese armies. When the Japanese occupied Burma in 1942 this route was lost.

tional loans were made later, and in 1941 we began giving assistance through the Lend-Lease funds. We cooperated with Great Britain and China in improving the Burma Road before Japan seized Burma and made the road inaccessible.

Russia's Position. — The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has had a more immediate interest in the Japanese-Chinese conflict than other nations because Japan is an imperialistic rival of Russia, and because Japan has especially opposed communism. Russia has maintained an army in Siberia, just across from Manchoukuo, and this has forced Japan to keep an expensive army in that region away from the conflict in China.

China and the Adjacent Islands Exploited by Japan. — Japan, with Manchukuo, is normally about self-supporting according to her standard of living. With the resources of her conquests, her standard is improving. To insure these conquests and to reduce Chinese resistance, Japan has encouraged millions of Chinese to acquire the opium habit. From her conquered regions Japan now gets rubber, oil, tin, lead, zinc, copper, rice, and vegetable oils, paid for in worthless Japanese currency.



Courtesy of New York Times

JAPAN'S CONQUESTS IN CHINA TO 1940

Territory on Asia's mainland now controlled by Japan is shown in the same scale with the United States.

Conditions in the Interior of China. — Millions of refugee Chinese have re-started life in the primitive interior of China under the Chungking Government. There they have re-established thirty-odd colleges and universities in mud buildings with thatched roofs, and students keep alive on as little as \$10 a year. There small industries are springing up and are operated co-operatively so as to utilize the limited machinery available. Some supplies reach China from India by air, and a road is being built from India to replace the Burma Road. Small arms

are manufactured for the army, and a little gasoline is being produced from vegetable oils. But the Government is dependent upon the outside for the limited purchases of trucks, artillery, and airplanes that it can obtain.

A Chinese Puppet State under Japan was inaugurated at Nanking on March 30, 1940, with Wang Ching-wei as head. It is called the "National Government," and is a Japanese-made régime with which Japan hopes to negotiate a peace favorable to Japan provided Wang Ching-wei can develop enough Chinese following to give any significance to such a treaty. This "government" is of course backed by the Japanese army, and in 1942 declared war against Japan's enemies, including the United States.

Japan Closed China's "Open Door." — When pressed for a statement, Japan indicated that the "Open Door" demanded by the West, and sponsored by the United States, giving equal opportunity for all nations in China, would not be maintained unless there was a "World Open Door."

China Joins the Allies. — Even before Japan started the war against the United States in December, 1941, the term "ABCD Powers" (American, British, Chinese, Dutch) was in common use. Many of the Chinese leaders were educated in the West, Chiang Kai-Shek and Madame Chiang Kai-Shek are Christians, and the rising leaders of China believe in democratic principles. All four of the ABCD Powers stand for a world governed by law; all are in common aggrieved because the three Axis Powers deliberately prepared for conquest; and they are fighting the Axis because the latter powers are endeavoring to govern the world by force — in fact, they have for themselves substituted the philosophy of force for that of love and co-operative justice.

When Germany and Italy declared war on the United States China promptly declared war on Germany and Italy.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Do you consider Yuan Shih-kai's method of cutting off all resources to the imperial family, which caused the abdication of the Manchus, that of a hypocrite or that of a wise statesman? Why?

2. What were the "War Lords" of China, and how did they resemble the Feudal Barons of Europe in the Middle Ages?
3. Describe the Revolution of 1911.
4. What factors made it very difficult for the Chinese to be a united people? Would modern transportation remedy them?
5. What are the religions in China? Why does Taoism appeal more to the poor than to the wealthy of China?
6. What doctrine of Confucianism hindered the progress of China? How?
7. Describe the written language of China? Would it be difficult to learn? Why has the 1000-character language been adopted for general reading?
8. What was the Boxer Rebellion? What use did the United States make of the indemnity paid as a result of the Boxer Rebellion?
9. Give the excuses that Japan made for the invasion of China.
10. Explain the present international relations of China.

PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION

1. When the Manchu dynasty was overthrown, did China need a republic or a limited monarchy?
2. Russian Communism is atheistic. Why have several of the Christian Generals of China become communists without giving up their faith?
3. Who are the outstanding Chinese leaders? List some past leaders. What have they done to build China's civilization?
4. With 30,000,000 Chinese in Manchoukuo, compared to less than a million Japanese, and \$1,000,000,000 invested by the Japanese, was the setting up of the state of Manchoukuo justified? Why was China unable to resist the Japanese power in the North?
5. The Chinese national government at Nanking in the period 1927 to the middle of July, 1937, was making a unified China. Banditry was being suppressed, trains were beginning to run, some of them even on time, and the finances of the country were being placed on a sound basis by T. V. Soong, Finance Minister. What effect do you think the war will have on China's modernization?
6. Japan terminated the naval armament agreement with the United States and Great Britain (the 5-5-3 agreement), fortified possessions in the Pacific contrary to the Nine Power Pact, withdrew from the League of Nations when the militarists got control of the government after violating the Covenant by seizing Manchuria, violated the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact by making war on China, secretly attacked the United States before declaring war, and by her every act proves that she is out to get hers regardless of the rights of others. Was the

United States, in view of these facts, justified in giving China Lend-Lease aid, and in refusing to renew our trade agreement with Japan?

7. Japan, in overrunning Eastern Asia claims that she intends to establish a "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere." From the facts stated in question 6 do you think Japan is fighting for the prosperity of her neighbors or of herself? If Japan really wanted prosperity for all, should she have promoted it gradually and peacefully through the League of Nations or by dropping bombs upon her neighbor? By which method is permanent co-prosperity more likely to come?

8. In what way can the conquest of China be made of value to Japan? Is it likely that China will co-operate readily with the Japanese?

9. Japan has actively been giving Manchoukuo a practical westernizing by establishing technical schools. She plans to do the same in China. Do you think that in time this very education may enable China to throw off the Japanese domination or perhaps even conquer Japan?

10. China has in the past absorbed its invaders in time, making them Chinese. Is it probable that Japan will become absorbed in China? Explain.

11. Would the "Yellow Peril" be of general benefit to the civilized world if Asia united economically and became westernized? Give examples of both benefits and dangers.

12. If the United States had co-operated with the League of Nations and the League had told Japan to keep out of China, meaning to act if necessary, do you think Japan would have invaded Manchoukuo and China? If not, would Mussolini have taken Abyssinia? Would Hitler have taken Austria and Czechoslovakia?

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CHAPTER XXIX

MIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES AND ELSEWHERE

IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES

The Right of Congress to Control Immigration. — It is an accepted principle of international law that every sovereign nation has the power to regulate immigration, because it is essential to self-preservation. The exercise of this power in any particular country is governed by the Constitution and statutes of the country. In the United States it belongs to the National Government and is a part of its power to regulate foreign commerce. In Article I, Section 8, of the United States Constitution, Congress is expressly granted authority to regulate foreign commerce. The Supreme Court considers the immigration of people to be foreign commerce; therefore Congress has power to regulate immigration to the United States.

Period of Unrestricted Immigration. — For half a century after the formation of our Union immigrants were welcomed, but by the middle of the last century a certain amount of economic and religious friction developed which was expressed in the anti-alien "Know-Nothing" movement of the fifties. During the period of unrestricted immigration political upheavals, religious persecutions, or the praiseworthy desire to come to the land of opportunity brought to the shores of the United States millions of excellent citizens. But our policy of unrestricted immigration also brought those who could not survive in the competition of overpopulated countries, and in too many cases we became the dumping ground for their scum. More than one European community bought tickets to America for their common "bums."

Exclusion of Undesirable Classes. — During the several decades preceding the World War Congress banned one un-

desirable class after another, until now the following are excluded :

- (1) Idiots, feeble-minded or insane persons, epileptics.
- (2) Chronic alcoholics, paupers, vagrants, personal beggars.
- (3) Persons with tuberculosis or other dangerous, contagious diseases.
- (4) Persons with physical defects affecting their ability to work.
- (5) Persons guilty of crime involving moral turpitude.
- (6) Persons who practice or advocate the practice of polygamy.
- (7) Prostitutes or persons encouraging prostitution.
- (8) Laborers induced to come by contract or advertisements abroad.
- (9) Persons likely to become a public charge.
- (10) Anarchists or persons who teach opposition to organized government.
- (11) Persons who advocate the killing of officials.
- (12) Persons who advocate the destruction of property — sabotage.
- (13) Members of organizations that encourage practices of Nos. 10, 11, 12.
- (14) Adults unable to read any language.

Exclusion of Racial Groups. — After the gold rush of 1849, Chinese came to California in great numbers. They differed from Americans in color, religion, language, and habits; and because of their lower standards of living they could afford to work for lower wages than white laborers. Race riots, starting in San Francisco, spread to other states, and raised the issue of Oriental immigration.

The Pacific Coast states attempted to regulate immigration themselves, but their laws were declared in conflict with the Constitution of the United States. The Federal Government then attempted to regulate Chinese immigration by treaty, but this proved unsatisfactory; and in 1882 Congress enacted a law excluding skilled and unskilled Chinese laborers for a period

of ten years. In 1892 this Act was continued for another ten years. In 1902 it was again continued, and the exclusion was extended to the insular possessions of the United States. No



“THE PROMISED LAND”

Immigrants look eagerly towards the
Statue of Liberty.

Orientals could come from our islands to the continental United States.

In the Exclusion Act of 1917 Chinese were not named, but all natives of Asia east of Persia and south of Siberia and the islands adjacent to southern Asia, except the Philippine Islands, were excluded.¹ Japanese and Koreans were not excluded, but Japan had agreed not to grant passports to coolies from Japan or Korea.

In 1882, the year Chinese coolies were first excluded from the United States, only five Japanese came to this country; but the exclusion of Chinese en-

couraged the Japanese to come, and over ten thousand entered in 1907. As most of these remained in California, an acute racial problem developed which resulted in mob violence. The school board of San Francisco required Orientals to attend separate schools.

This situation produced an international problem, and President Roosevelt entered a Gentlemen's Agreement with Japan whereby passports were not to be granted to the coolie class. Before this time only Japanese men had come in appreciable numbers, but to supply wives for the Japanese men already in

¹ This exclusion did not apply to officials, certain professional classes, students, merchants, travelers, and their wives and children under sixteen.

the United States, for a number of years, many picture brides were granted passports and large Japanese families were being reared in California.

The agitation for the exclusion of Japanese as well as other Orientals continued, and in 1924 all persons ineligible to citizenship were excluded from the United States by Act of Congress.¹ As all Orientals are ineligible to citizenship, the Japanese and Koreans were excluded by this Act of 1924 as well as the other Orientals excluded by the Act of 1917. (See Chapter XXVII on Japan.)

The Emergency Act of 1921. — During several decades preceding the World War we gradually excluded one undesirable class after another, but not until after the World War did we place a restriction on mere numbers. In spite of the various restrictions previously imposed the number of immigrants rose to a million annually during the years just preceding the war.

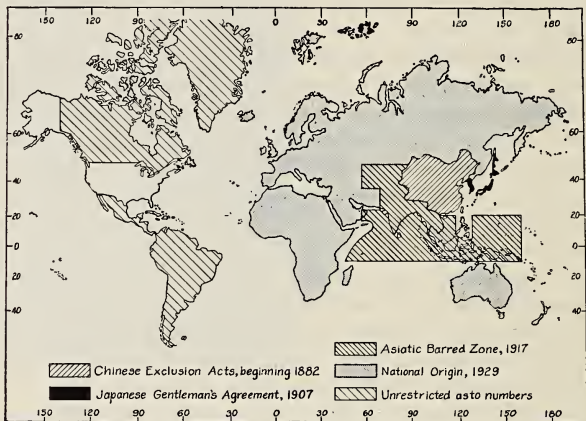
The 1920 census showed 14,000,000 foreign-born people in the United States. Nearly half of the population of some cities was foreign born, and from 20 to 30 per cent of the population of eleven states was foreign born. Furthermore, it was estimated that 2,000,000 aliens were planning to migrate to the United States in 1922. Realizing that the United States could not absorb this increasing influx of peoples with other languages and customs without endangering its social organizations, Congress, in May, 1921, hastily passed an emergency Immigration Act for one year.

This 1921 Act provided, "That the number of aliens of any nationality who may be admitted under the immigration laws of the United States in any fiscal year shall be limited to 3 per cent of the number of foreign-born persons of such nationality resident in the United States as determined by the United States census of 1910." In May, 1922, the Act was extended for two years; and in 1924 Congress further restricted the number of immigrants to be admitted annually by reducing the quota percentage from three per cent to two per cent, and it shifted

¹ Oriental officials, temporary visitors for travel or trade, ministers and professors with their wives and children, and students are still admitted.

the year for determining the national quotas from 1910 to 1890. This decreased the quotas of southeastern Europe especially.

The Present Immigration Law. — The 1924 quota plan of two per cent was applied to immigrants for five years; but since July 1, 1929, the "national origins" admissions have been restricted to a fixed number per year — now 153,774 — and are allotted to various countries (not races) in the proportion which the different nationalities contributed to the white



AREAS AFFECTED BY SUCCESSIVE UNITED STATES IMMIGRATION LAWS

The percentage restrictions of 1921 and 1924 applied to the same regions as the National Origin Law effective in 1929.

population of the United States as it stood at the census of 1920; but every country has a quota of at least 100, except the Philippines, who were restricted to a quota of 50 when they were promised self-government in 1934. All quotas are available only for persons eligible to become United States citizens under our own laws.

Non-Quota Immigrants are not limited as to number and include:

(1) persons, except Orientals, born on the American continents, in Cuba, Haiti, or Santo Domingo; (2) aliens returning from a visit to their native country; (3) American widows who

married aliens before 1922; (4) wives and unmarried children under eighteen of American citizens; (5) preachers and professors and their children under eighteen; (6) students at least 15 years of age, including Orientals; and (7) merchants who are granted the right by treaty — *e.g.*, Chinese and Japanese.

Of the 67,895 immigrant aliens admitted to the United States during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1938, 14,262 came in as natives of non-quota countries; and 10,262 as husbands, wives, and unmarried children of United States citizens. And of the 184,802 non-immigrant aliens admitted, 2451 came as students.

The present law continues the exclusion of the undesirable classes listed on the second page of this chapter and of Orientals which we have also discussed.

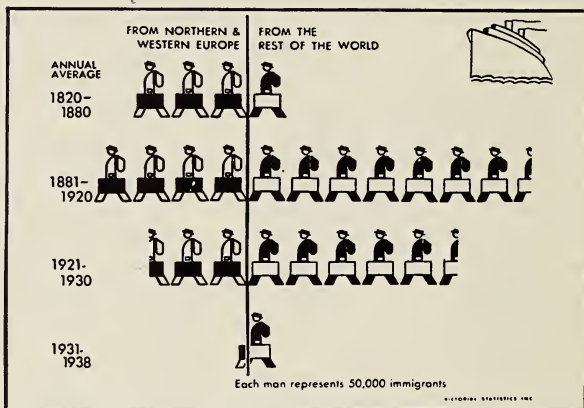
The purpose of the National Origin Law, which became effective in 1929, was further to restrict the total number of immigrants and to give preference to the nationalities that have kinsmen in the United States. It was thought that kinsmen could best train the new comers for citizenship. Because this law greatly restricted immigration of the Nordic stock, and slightly increased Mediterranean quotas, it has been humorously said that Uncle Sam prefers brunettes.

The following figures show a few of the quotas of alien immigrants assigned under the 1924 two per cent law and under the National Origin Law.

COUNTRY	ANNUAL QUOTA UNDER 1924 2% LAW	ANNUAL QUOTA UNDER PRESENT NATIONAL ORIGIN LAW
Germany	51,227	27,370
Great Britain and Northern Ireland	34,007	65,721
Ireland (Eire)	28,567	17,853
Italy	3,845	5,802
Norway	6,453	2,377
Greece	100	307
Sweden	9,561	3,314

Germans, Norwegians, Swedish, and other groups at first urged the repeal of the National Origin Law because they

wished to bring their relatives to the United States, or because they believed America should be an asylum for persons religiously, politically, or economically oppressed or socially ostracized. But such outstanding biologists as Conklin of Princeton and East of Harvard, such sociologists as Ross of Wisconsin and Fairchild of New York, and such economists as Carver of Harvard, Commons of Wisconsin, and Fisher of Yale



IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES

urged the passage of the National Origin Law. These scientists believed that only by immigration restriction along this line can the homogeneity of our civilization be secured, and that without such basic homogeneity our civilization cannot have its best development.

How Immigrants Enter. — Every alien seeking to enter the United States must appear before an American consul and obtain from him a visa establishing tentatively his right to enter the United States, subject to a further examination at the port of entry. The law requires consuls to deny visas to those aliens who, upon examination, are believed to be inadmissible to the United States under any of its laws.

To make the examinations conducted by consuls even more effective than formerly, our consuls in emigrant countries have been supplied with trained immigration officers and with physicians from the United States Public Health Service. The number of immigrants now denied admission at the port of entry is negligible; and we now avoid the expense and irritation of sending all immigrants to Ellis Island for examination. Necessary examinations can usually be conducted on shipboard. A few are still detained at Ellis Island.

The steamship company that brings immigrants is still required to return to the port of embarkation any aliens that may be rejected at our ports of entry.

Immigration Statistics are given below:

COUNTRIES	1940		1941	
	INWARD	OUTWARD	INWARD	OUTWARD
Germany	21,520	1,978	4,028	1,758
Canada	10,806	769	11,280	835
England	5,850	998	7,368	372
Italy	5,302	1,534	450	104
West Indies	2,675	1,300	4,687	1,430
France	2,575	542	4,801	78
Mexico	2,313	4,584	2,824	4,392
Hungary	1,902	136	330	18
Belgium	1,713	61	1,816	14
South America	1,105	1,004	2,216	1,352
Czechoslovakia	1,074	39	314	11
Greece	811	261	268	77
Eire	749	322	211	52
Poland	702	81	451	4
All others	11,659	7,852	10,732	6,618
Total Immigrant Aliens	70,756	21,461	51,776	17,115
Total Non-Immigrant Aliens	138,032	144,703	100,008	71,362
United States Citizens	258,918	224,727	175,935	168,961
GRAND TOTAL	467,706	390,891	327,719	257,438

Of the 51,776 immigrant aliens who entered the United States during the fiscal year 1941 there were 23,737 Hebrews; and of the 4,028 who entered from Germany 3793 were Hebrews.

Looking Ahead. — Professor Edward A. Ross says: "It was one thing for couples to average ten children when only three of them grew up; it is quite another thing to average ten children when seven of them will grow up. In this country in twenty years the death rate has been cut a quarter, and the health experts expect it to be cut another quarter in the next twenty years. Now that we have arrived at a time when, thanks to the doctors and sanitarians, half of those born live to be 56 years old, only a lunatic would imagine that people generally may go on multiplying at the old rate."

Sanitary science has increased the length of life the world over, and even if the United States threw her ports wide open and allowed antagonistic groups to develop here and there in our midst, it would not give these overpopulated countries any permanent relief. Each country must learn to balance its own population or trouble is ahead. In the words of Professor E. M. East:

"The finest and soundest agriculture in the world cannot keep a country from the depths of the most degrading misery if it continues to pack its territory with human beings, without regard as to whether there is room for them or not. Food production may reach the heights of efficiency and its distribution be well-nigh perfect, but if there is no end to the number of mouths to fill . . . we shall be in the same plight as were the daughters of Danaus, forever carrying water in a sieve. The voices which demand 300,000,000 people in the United States in order to make it secure and prosperous are siren voices. If we listen, we are lost. What is needed is not 300,000,000 people chained permanently to poverty and distress, but 150,000,000 people, or thereabouts, who can live comfortably and happily if they will."

Another Side of the Picture. — While there is no virtue in merely increasing the number of mouths to feed, regardless of quality, there is virtue in giving birth to healthy intelligent children who can not only support themselves but can become leaders in religion, statecraft, and industry for their generation. We are told that the birthrate is so low among the graduates of

one of our leading universities for men that in three generations 5000 will reduce to 50; and that graduates from our best women's colleges are not reproducing themselves. We should not rear children for cannon-fodder, as some nations appear to be doing, but we need more children in homes that would train them to promote international justice and peace and thus prevent fighting over the distribution of the earth's resources for self-preservation.

INTERNATIONAL POPULATION MOVEMENTS

Migrations of the Nineteenth Century. — During the nineteenth century, and the beginning of the twentieth, large numbers of Europeans migrated to North and South America, smaller numbers colonized Africa and Australasia, and Orientals went to the islands of the Pacific. We have read the glamorous tales of free lands and of those who became rich; but of the millions who did not better their conditions and of the millions who returned to their native lands not much has been written.

Why Migrations Are Not Settling Overpopulation Problems Today. — At present there are no large-scale international migrations. Large numbers of Russians have recently migrated into Siberia; but this country is not thrown open to settlers from other countries. Smaller numbers of Japanese have migrated to Manchoukuo and the islands of the Pacific; but international migrations are at a standstill for the following reasons. (War migrations are uncertain and probably temporary.)

Immigration Restrictions. — Australia has followed a strict policy of admitting only whites; and Canada and the Union of South Africa have by laws or other methods restricted Oriental migration. In general, countries with areas desirable for settlement are open only to desirable settlers.

Emigration Restrictions. — It is difficult to migrate from totalitarian states like Italy, Germany, and Russia because those desiring to leave are not allowed to take their money with them and hence cannot establish themselves in unsettled areas. They lack capital and are largely excluded. And in Russia the passport is too expensive for the poor Russians to purchase.

Unemployment. — In most countries mechanical inventions have caused unemployment; hence laborers obtain immigration restrictions against the influx of competing laborers.

Race Prejudice. — Not only are Orientals excluded from countries occupied by whites, but today the Jews are not wanted by the Arabs of Palestine, or in large numbers by most other countries. Hitler is colonizing German Jews among the Poles.

Future Population Movements. — At present there are few regions that offer desirable opportunities for immigration by large numbers of people. There are scattered sections in Africa, in central South America, in western Canada, and in South Australia, where there is agricultural support for considerable numbers.

Likewise, in all countries of America there are opportunities relatively much better than those in such crowded countries as Belgium, Italy, Germany, Japan, China, and India. This situation suggests a problem that we Americans are not happy to face. Central Europe under the leadership of Hitler and Mussolini, and Orientals under the leadership of Japan have combined and fought for more territory for their people. (See Chapter XXXIII for proposed methods of preventing the settlement of this economic problem by war.)

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Under what power of Congress is immigration regulated?
2. During what period were immigrants welcomed to the United States; and what types came?
3. What classes of immigrants were excluded during the several decades before the World War?
4. When and why did we begin to exclude racial groups? Who were excluded in 1882? In 1917? In 1924?
5. Why was the 1921 Act hastily passed? Explain it. How was it modified in 1924?
6. Describe the present National Origin Law. What non-quota immigrants are admitted in addition to the quota?
7. Under the National Origin Law how many immigrants are admitted from Germany? From Great Britain?
8. What did a number of social scientists think of the immigration restriction?

9. How do immigrants enter the United States? If a ship brings a would-be immigrant who is forbidden admission, how does he get back to his native country?

10. How many people entered the United States in 1941? How many left?

11. Should we encourage the population of the world to increase?

12. What kind of population in the United States should be increased?

13. Why cannot migrations settle immigration problems today?

14. What dangers may be ahead because of unequal distribution of population?

PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Do you favor unrestricted immigration, immigration according to the 1924 Law, or to the National Origin provision; or would you still further restrict immigration?

2. Would you favor placing American countries, including Canada, under the National Origin Law? Or would you favor the quota restriction for all Americans except English-speaking Americans?

3. In 1940 an Exclusion Act was passed by Congress requiring the compulsory registration of all aliens in the United States. The purpose of compulsory registration is to better enable officers to detect the illegal entry of immigrants. But the objection was made that such a proposal was un-American, and smacked of oppressive European passport systems. Do you favor the compulsory registration of aliens, or do you think it un-American? Do you think all Americans should be required to carry an identification card giving their criminal record?

4. Would you favor admitting Orientals on the same quota or National Origin basis as Europeans? Would either of these admit an appreciable number? Would it create a more friendly feeling on the part of the Oriental nations?

5. In 1928 a rich Hindu merchant in San Francisco who had been granted citizenship, and then denied it as a result of a decision of the United States Supreme Court declaring East Indians ineligible for citizenship, committed suicide. In a letter which he left, he explained that he had sworn allegiance to the United States and had reared his family in the customs and education of America, but now finds that he cannot buy a home in the city of his business and cannot obtain a passport which will permit him and his family to return to India. He was so sensitive to these restrictions that he did not consider life worth living. Would you favor granting citizenship to Orientals who lived in the United States before the Immigration Act of 1924?

6. Because of progress in sanitation, 50,000 more people are born in the world daily than die a natural death. The world is not large

enough and rich enough to supply a comfortable living for an indefinitely increasing population. If France adjusts her increase in population in proportion to her means of support and Italy encourages an increase of her population, do you consider France morally obligated to accept Italy's overflow?

7. The Swiss people are perhaps the most content of any progressive people in the world; yet the country is unable to feed itself and has much less raw materials than Germany. The people make good use of what they have: they buy raw material and fabricate it into expensive engines, electric equipment, and watches. They are frugal and enjoy non-expensive pastimes. Their average family is not excessive in size. The Swiss solve their population problem without much migration and without war. Should other countries develop the Swiss way of life?

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CHAPTER XXX

INTERNATIONAL LAW

Origin and Meaning of International Law. — In primitive times, when peoples lived in segregated groups, *stranger* and *enemy* were synonymous words.

In ancient times conquered peoples were put to death. Later they were sold as slaves. When the Roman Empire incorporated peoples of different nationalities, it created a system of traveling magistrates who heard cases in which one party, or neither party, was a Roman, and decided the cases according to the law of the parties. The judge picked out the best practices



HUGO GROTIUS

which were most nearly common to all the nations, and the resulting law was called *jus gentium* — the law of nations. Thus was created a system of private international law to settle disputes between individuals and private corporations.

During the Middle Ages, leagues of cities, like the Hanseatic League of Baltic cities, developed international practices, and several collections of maritime customs or laws were compiled. In 1625 a treatise entitled *De Jure Belli ac Pacis* (The Law of War and Peace) was published by the Dutch jurist, Hugo Grotius, who later became known as the "Father of International Law." He said he wrote this treatise because he saw

prevailing throughout the Christian world a license in making war of which even barbarous nations would have been ashamed. He argued that the same principles that regulate the dealings among men should also regulate the dealings among nations.

In 1648, at the end of the Thirty Years' War, the old ambition of uniting the civilized world under one ruler gave way to the recognition of the independence and equality of sovereign states.

International law is now a part of the law of every civilized state. It consists of rules and regulations that are generally obeyed by civilized states and applied by their courts. The principal sources of international law are treaties, customs, court and arbitration decisions, and works of great jurists. They must be ascertained and administered by the courts of appropriate jurisdiction as often as questions of right depending upon it are duly presented for their determination.

Sovereign States and Their Governments.¹ — A sovereign state is one with power to deal with its internal and external affairs independent of superior authority. The United States is a sovereign state, but our forty-eight states are not sovereign states because they are not in all respects independent of the Union and do not have power to transact foreign affairs.

A government is the agency through which a state's purposes are formulated and executed. A sovereign state may have any form of government its people choose. A change in the form of government does not ordinarily produce any change in the status of existing treaties or debts; but if a new government, like the Soviet government of Russia, cancels debts and confiscates property of aliens, recognition by other countries may be withheld. The United States Government did not recognize the Soviet government of Russia until 1933 — sixteen years after the revolution.

Acquisition of Territory. — Conquest. — A state may acquire territory by conquest. The United States thus acquired the

¹ The word nation is now used synonymously with the word state, though it originally meant people of a common ancestry. For example, until the state of Poland was re-created as a result of the World War, it was a nation divided among the states of Germany, Austria, and Russia.

southwestern states from Mexico at the end of the Mexican War of 1848. The seizure of territory from a member of the League of Nations is forbidden by Article 10 of the Covenant. In 1925, when the Greek army invaded Bulgaria, the Council of the League of Nations gave Greece sixty hours in which to withdraw its army; but recently the League has been unable to enforce Article 10.

Discovery. — Discovery plus settlement at the mouth of a river was generally considered to give title to as much of the surrounding country as was necessary for the protection of the settlements, or to the territory drained by the river. Canada now claims the territory in a triangular space between longitudes 60 and 142 and the North Pole on the ground that it has established and maintained bases of supplies in this area. The Spitzbergen Islands, discovered 200 years ago, were in 1920 found to contain coal. Claims were then made to them, and a treaty was signed by nine of the leading powers (not by Russia), placing the islands under the sovereignty of Norway.

Purchase. — States commonly purchase territory from one another. The United States purchased the Danish West Indies as recently as 1916. The treaty of purchase usually transfers citizenship to the purchasing state, but citizens may retain their former allegiance under certain conditions. Private property rights are not changed by the purchase of sovereignty.

The Right of Equality of States. — The old conception that the civilized world could be organized under one ruler ended with the Treaty of Westphalia (1648), when the Thirty Years' War, involving most of Europe, proved its futility. Since then international law has developed on the theory of legally equal states. The attempts to establish a Permanent Court of International Justice at the Hague conferences failed because the small states demanded the rights as sovereign states to have an equal voice with the large states in the election of the judges. But at the end of the World War the need of co-operation was felt, and the League of Nations was formed by giving the great states controlling powers in the Council. Therefore, when the League of Nations created the World Court, the small

states were willing to have the judges chosen by the Assembly and Council voting separately, and no longer insisted that each state have one judge.

The Right of Self-Preservation. — A nation's right to self-preservation is analogous to an individual's right of self-preservation. A state is permitted to repel an invasion, and though the action is a serious matter, states sometimes operate beyond their boundaries in protecting their country. During the Canadian rebellion in 1838, insurgents assembled on the American side of the Niagara River, took arms and cannon by force from the American arsenals, and prepared to cross into Canada on the steamship *Caroline*. To prevent this, an English force boarded the *Caroline* while she was moored in American waters and cut her adrift so that she went over Niagara Falls.

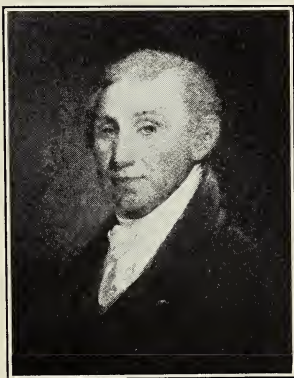
In 1916, during the Mexican revolutions, Villa, a former Mexican general, acting as a bandit, raided the little town of Columbus, New Mexico, killing seventeen Americans and carrying away horses. The American Government thereupon ordered General Pershing to pursue the bandits across the border. General Pershing pursued several hundred miles into Mexico. To the Mexican protest made by Carranza, President Wilson replied that the invasion had been forced upon us through the inability of the Mexican authorities to suppress this banditry. A war with Mexico was narrowly averted.

The Monroe Doctrine. — The Monroe Doctrine is an example of self-defense against indirect attack. In 1823 the Holy Alliance, then composed of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, agreed to protect or restore "legitimate" sovereigns as against revolutionists; and it did so intervene in Naples and in Spain. It was understood that the next step of the Alliance would be to aid King Ferdinand of Spain to recover his Spanish colonies in America which had set up independent governments. The independence of these new countries had enabled Great Britain to develop a profitable trade, and she encouraged the United States to resist their reconquest. Therefore, President Monroe in his 1823 annual message to Congress referred to the intervention of the Holy Alliance in Spain, and declared "that we

should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States."

Because the Emperor of Russia had issued an ukase in 1821, claiming the territory on the Pacific coast of America down to the 51st degree of latitude, President Monroe in this same message asserted that the American continents are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power. By treaty in 1824 Russia withdrew her claim to the disputed Pacific coast territory; hence this assertion in Monroe's message has not had subsequent significance.

The Monroe Doctrine has been invoked on many occasions, but the most outstanding example is when the French intervened in Mexico. In 1861 the English, French, and Spanish took possession of customs houses in Mexican ports to satisfy claims of their citizens. The next year the English and Spanish reached an agreement as to their claims and withdrew. The French forces occupied Mexico City in 1863 and attempted to



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JAMES MONROE

This painting by Gilbert Stuart of the author of the Monroe Doctrine now hangs in the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts.

establish an empire. The crown was accepted by Archduke Maximilian of Austria in 1864, and France practically agreed to give protection to the new empire. After the Civil War the United States was preparing to assist Mexico in expelling the French, but in 1867 the French troops were routed, and Maximilian was court-martialed and shot.

After a Venezuela-Guiana boundary dispute covering many years, in which Great Britain refused to arbitrate, President Cleveland, with the consent of Congress, appointed a commission to determine the correct boundary between Venezuela and Guiana, and announced that an encroachment on the part of Great Britain beyond this line would be considered an encroachment on the Monroe Doctrine. As a result of this determined stand by the United States, Great Britain agreed to arbitrate. The arbitral award placed the boundary between the lines claimed by the two sides. This compromise line was accepted, and the controversy was ended.

Though the Monroe Doctrine has given the Latin-American countries a century of protection, it was unpopular with them. The small countries believed the United States of North America kept European nations from Latin America in order that she herself might exploit them. The strong states opposed it not primarily from fear but from wounded national pride. If a rich, powerful neighbor insists upon protecting me when I feel no need of protection, the public evidence of my inferiority hurts my pride.

In 1913 Roosevelt, and later Mr. Taft and Wilson, attempted to allay Latin-American hostility to the Doctrine by proposing to make it a co-operative Latin-American Doctrine instead of a unilateral United States Doctrine. But the United States Senate (1919), Elihu Root, and Charles Hughes opposed this view. At the Fifth Pan-American Conference in 1923 some of the Latin-American delegates proposed that we make the Monroe Doctrine Pan-American. But Mr. Fletcher, head of the American delegation, stated that the Monroe Doctrine was a unilateral, national policy of the United States, which the United States alone interpreted and applied. If the United

States agrees to make the Doctrine Pan-American, then the majority of American States can define it.

Shortly after this Fifth Pan-American Conference, 1923, the centennial year of the Monroe Doctrine, Mr. Hughes, Secretary of State, gave the following official definition of the Monroe Doctrine: "It is opposed (1) to any non-American action encroaching upon the political independence of American states under any guise, and (2) to the acquisition in any manner of the control of additional territory in this hemisphere by any non-American power." (See pp. 137-138 for present status.)

Intervention to Protect Investments. — At the Second Hague Conference, held in 1907, a convention was adopted which contained an agreement not to resort to force in the recovery of contract debts claimed from the government of one country by the government of another as being due to its nationals, unless the debtor state refuses to arbitrate. Seventeen states, including France, Germany, Great Britain, and the United States, ratified this convention.

Intervention in Civil Wars. — One nation should not intervene in case of an insurrection or rebellion in another nation except in extreme cases where the nationals of the intervening state are not treated in accord with the demands of international law. But if rebels are properly organized and numerous enough to attain success and prove the rebellion to be a popular movement, the rebels may be recognized as belligerents, which distinguishes them from ordinary outlaws. Sometimes the United States assists a Latin-American government to put down a rebellion by selling it arms or assisting it in obtaining credit. In our dealings with Mexico we have frequently placed an embargo on arms when we wished to assist the side which already had arms.

Rights over Waters. — The seas are open to the ships of all nations; but since the middle of the eighteenth century a nation's jurisdiction has extended three miles from the low-water mark. This was the range of cannon when the rule was established. Within this three-mile maritime belt fishing rights may be reserved to citizens, customs or other taxes are collected,

and a nation may take jurisdiction of civil and criminal offenses committed there. In time of war belligerent navies must not attack each other within three miles of the coast of a neutral state. When a United States cruiser attacked a Confederate cruiser within three miles of the Brazilian coast, the government of Brazil protested and the United States sent a cruiser to Brazil to fire shots of apology, even when cruisers were so badly needed at home.



UNITED STATES NAVY

Because of the isolated position of the United States, our Government maintains for protection a strong fleet rather than a large standing army.

The three-mile rule made it difficult for the United States coast guard to prevent smuggling of liquor into the United States; therefore, Great Britain and other powers agreed by treaty to permit suspected vessels flying their flag to be searched and seized out from shore as far as the suspected vessel, or the one communicating with it from shore, could sail in an hour. For this concession on the part of Great Britain and the other powers, the United States agreed not to penalize any vessels of these Treaty Powers plying back and forth to United States ports or passing through its territorial waters with liquors

that were listed as sea stores or as cargo to another country, provided the liquors were kept under seal while the vessel was within the maritime belt (sometimes called *marginal waters*).

Our Twelve-Mile Tariff Rule. — In 1804 Chief Justice Marshall asserted that a nation's power to secure itself from injury "may certainly be exercised beyond the limit of its territory." The principle has been invoked repeatedly. Our tariff laws, including the present tariff act of 1930, forbid the unloading of cargoes without permission in marginal waters out to the twelve-mile limit. As the smuggling of liquor into the United States violates our tariff laws, our Coast Guard can prevent the unloading of liquor as far as twelve miles at sea.

Bays. — A state may control a bay, the mouth of which is not more than ten miles wide. But in certain cases a state's title has been asserted and consented to by other states over inland waters whose mouths are more than ten miles. For examples, the United States exercises jurisdiction over the Chesapeake Bay and the Delaware Bay whose entrances are more than ten miles across; and Japan exercises exclusive sovereignty over the inland Sea of Japan.

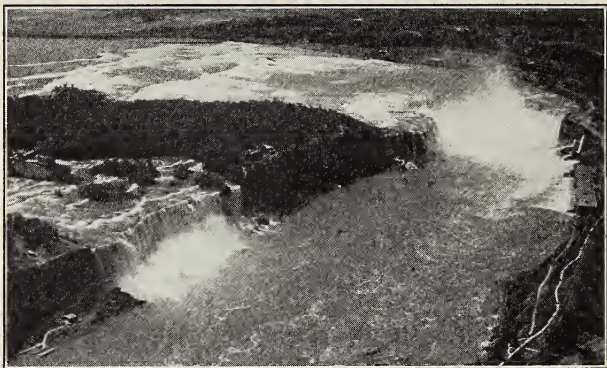
Vessels. — A state has jurisdiction over its ships on the high seas. For instance, if one United States ship carelessly rams another United States ship, or if there is a mutiny on an American vessel, the defendants must stand trial in a United States District Court.

By comity a public vessel, such as a battleship, is treated as though it were part of the territory of the country to which it belongs, and is not subject to the jurisdiction of a foreign port. A private merchant vessel is not usually molested in a foreign port so long as acts committed on it concern only members of the crew and do not affect the peace and health outside the vessel. But a passenger boat cannot sell liquor in an American port without a United States license.

Boundary Streams. — The boundary line of a navigable stream between two countries is usually the center of the main navigable channel, unless placed along one bank by treaty. For example, in 1858, Nicaragua was by treaty granted sover-

eighty over the San Juan River along the borders of Costa Rica and Nicaragua, and in 1914 Nicaragua granted the United States the exclusive perpetual right to construct an interoceanic canal by way of this river.

By treaty the citizens of Canada and those of the United States are permitted to navigate both sides of the Saint Lawrence-Great Lakes boundary. Canadians are permitted to navigate Lake Michigan and citizens of the United States are



Courtesy Niagara Falls Chamber of Commerce

THE FALLS OF THE NIAGARA RIVER

This is one of the most famous boundary streams.

permitted to navigate the lower Saint Lawrence which flows through Quebec to the ocean. By treaty with Canada the height of water in the Lake of the Woods is regulated, and the amount that may be diverted at Niagara is limited to a total of 20,000 cubic feet per second within New York State, and to 36,000 cubic feet within the Province of Ontario. The diversion of water through the Chicago Drainage Canal was also restricted because the Canadian lake level was being lowered.

Rivers Wholly within a State. — Each state possesses territorial rights over that portion of the river which is entirely within its boundaries; but either by treaty or by courtesy a state usually opens its rivers to the navigation of commerce of

all nations. However, the United States reserves coastwise trade for vessels flying the flag of the United States; that is, only United States ships may carry persons or commodities from one place in the United States to another place in the United States. For instance, an English boat was penalized for carrying a large delegation from Philadelphia to a convention in Boston, even though it made a short stop in Nova Scotia, Canada.

Rivers That Flow through More Countries than One. — A sovereign state through which a river flows can exclude vessels of other powers from its portion of the river unless the right of navigation has been granted them by treaty. But the tendency towards freedom of navigation is so strong that total exclusion or the levy of toll for profit would be regarded as an aggression. International public opinion is so strong in favor of co-operative use of rivers traversing more than one country that in the future the right of one state to exclude the trade of another riparian state will likely be lost.

Air above a Country. — The Air Navigation Convention of 1919 recognized that every power has complete and exclusive sovereignty over the air space above its territory, including adjacent territorial waters; but the powers which signed the convention agreed to give in time of peace freedom of innocent passage over its territory to the aircraft of the other contracting states, provided they observe certain stipulated rules in regard to departure, flight, and landing. Also, airplanes must be provided with certificates of airworthiness from their respective states.

By an Executive Order of the President of the United States, aircraft from a foreign country must notify our Department of State of the place and time of entrance to the United States.

Because of present military rivalry and of commercial rivalry for air transportation the powers are cautious in granting aeronautic privileges.

Jurisdiction over Persons. — *A sovereign state has jurisdiction over all persons within its borders except foreign sovereigns and their suites, diplomatic agents, and foreign public vessels.*

For instance, if an ambassador violates traffic laws, he is not fined or arrested. But a state may also claim jurisdiction over its citizens when they are outside its territory. For instance, citizens of the United States residing abroad must pay the United States income tax; and they commit a crime against the United States if they ship liquor to the United States contrary to law. Of course we cannot enforce our laws against our citizens residing abroad until they return home — either voluntarily or through extradition proceedings.

If a naturalized citizen returns to his native country, the law of that country applies to him. For instance, if that country does not recognize extradition, or if he left his native land without completing compulsory military service, he is subject to the laws of his native land. Conflicting laws regarding citizenship are to some extent smoothed out by treaties.

A country must prevent outbreaks against aliens if it has had reason to anticipate them, and it must at all times maintain an adequate police protection. When Chinese brigands took a number of Europeans and Americans from a train and held them as prisoners for some time, we demanded and obtained indemnity. In the United States there have been more than a hundred cases reported of resident aliens being killed by mobs. Under our system of government the state is legally responsible for these crimes, but the foreign countries have been unable to get redress from the states; and the United States, after great delay, usually pays a sum of money to the alien's heirs, always declaring that it does it as "an act of grace."

A country may exclude or expel aliens. It is an accepted principle of international law that every sovereign state has the right to regulate immigration, because such a right is essential to self-preservation. It may likewise expel aliens whom it has admitted, or even naturalized citizens who have obtained their naturalization by false statements.

Extradition means compulsory return for trial of persons who have committed crimes and taken refuge abroad. There is no uniform international law governing extradition. It is regulated by treaties, and some countries have not entered extra-



Fairchild Aerial Surveys

OUR NATIONAL CAPITAL AT WASHINGTON

Every American citizen may well be proud of this beautiful city. As you look from the White House in the foreground to the Capitol in the background, you may see the new buildings of Commerce, Labor, and the Post Office.

dition treaties with the United States. Some countries, including France and Italy, refuse to return their own citizens, but try them at home for offenses committed abroad. For instance, an Italian named Cocchi killed a girl in New York City and fled to Italy. Italy refused to extradite him but punished him in Italy. An American named Charlton killed his wife at Lake Como, Italy, and fled to the United States. The United States returned him for trial in Italy, in accordance with our extradition treaty, because our law did not provide a penalty for murder committed abroad and we did not want him to go unpunished.

A state does not usually extradite political offenders.

Nationality. — Citizenship is regulated by the separate law of each country, and not by international law. A country usually determines citizenship either by the old Roman law called *jus sanguinis* (right of blood), by which one's citizenship is that of his father, or by *jus soli* (right of soil), which makes it depend upon the place of birth.

According to Amendment XIV of our Constitution, persons born within the jurisdiction of the United States are citizens, but by statute we also claim children born abroad to an American father.¹ Many European countries have the rule of *jus sanguinis*. Therefore, if a child is born in the United States to alien European parents, the child has a dual nationality. According to our law he is considered an American citizen, and by the law of his parents' country he is probably considered a European. His effective citizenship depends upon where he lives.

The United States provides for the naturalization of aliens, but if a naturalized American citizen resides two years in the country of his birth or five years in any other foreign country, he is presumed to have abandoned his American citizenship.

¹ When such a child is 18, he must go before an American consul and declare his intention of remaining an American citizen; and when 21, must take the oath of allegiance to the United States. The child of an American mother marrying an alien can be an American citizen by residing in the United States 5 years before the 18th birthday.

By the law of 1922, an American woman does not lose her citizenship by marrying an alien, and by a subsequent act she is even allowed to marry an alien ineligible to citizenship, such as a Chinese or Japanese, without forfeiting her citizenship.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. In primitive times the word *stranger* was used as a synonym for what?
2. How did international law originate?
3. Who is known as the "father of international law"? What did he write? What inspired him to write?
4. What are the principal sources of international law?
5. What is a sovereign state? What is a government?
6. Explain how the acquisition of land has been justified by: (1) conquest, (2) discovery, (3) purchase.
7. What practical difficulties arise from the theory of equality of states?
8. What does international law permit a state to do under its right of self-preservation? Give examples.
9. Explain the circumstances under which the Monroe Doctrine was stated.
10. Give illustrations of the application of the Monroe Doctrine.
11. Why have Latin-American states been suspicious of the Monroe Doctrine?
12. What right has a state over the waters surrounding it? How is this rule modified in case of bays?
13. Explain the 12-mile tariff rule of the United States.
14. What law applies to the vessels of a nation when on the high seas?
15. When two states are separated by a stream, where does the boundary run, unless otherwise specified?
16. Has a foreign state a right to navigate a river wholly within a state without the latter's consent?
17. What right has a state over a river flowing through its borders if the river also flows through adjacent countries?
18. What right has a state regarding the air above it?
19. Does a sovereign state have jurisdiction over aliens within its border?
20. If an alien returns to his native state after having been naturalized in the United States has that state or the United States jurisdiction over him?
21. Is a state under obligation to protect aliens within its border?
22. May a country exclude aliens? Expel aliens?

23. Explain the practice of *extradition*.

24. Who determines the naturalization of persons within its borders? What is meant by *jus sanguinis*? *jus soli*?

25. Does an American woman lose her citizenship by marrying an alien?

PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION

1. In primitive times there was a prejudice against a stranger from another tribe. Do we today have prejudices against persons from other nations?

2. Hugo Grotius said that he wrote his treatise entitled, "The Law of War and Peace," because he saw prevailing throughout the Christian world a license in making war of which even barbarous nations would have been ashamed. Is this criticism still true?

3. Grotius also argued that the same principles that regulate dealings among men should also regulate the dealings among nations. Do you agree with this opinion?

4. The Soviet government of Russia repudiated all public debts of the Czarist régime. Is the government of the same people and territory justified in repudiating the debts of the government existing before the Revolution according to international law or to moral law?

5. In 1939 American countries co-operatively, through the Pan-American Union, proclaimed a zone in the Atlantic Ocean extending at places several hundred miles from shore in which belligerent submarines and other warships are not permitted to interfere with commerce or carry on combat. Does international law justify this? Is it being observed?

6. If it were not for our Monroe Doctrine, do you think European nations would occupy such states as Haiti and Nicaragua? Do you think such an occupation would be helpful or harmful to these states? to the United States? to the world?

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CHAPTER XXXI

CAUSES OF INTERNATIONAL WARS

Introduction. — Physicians cannot prevent diseases until they discover the causes of the diseases. Neither can statesmen prevent wars until they understand why nations fight nations. The preacher is predisposed to attribute the underlying cause of all wars to selfishness; the statesman to imperialistic ambitions; and the economist to the struggle for existence. As a matter of fact, each one of these causes has been a factor in most international wars. But there are as many other contributory causes as there are complexities in society. The following causes of international wars may be logically grouped as psychological, political, and economic.

PSYCHOLOGICAL CAUSES OF WARS

Philosophy of Force. — The Prince of Peace taught that *right makes might*, but some nations have taught that *might makes right*. For instance, Professor Treitschke, whom the German Kaiser called "our national historian," spent his life in spreading the gospel of power to princes and other leaders who sat at his feet. He taught that the state is above morality. The philosopher Nietzsche wrote, "I do not advise you to work, but to fight. I do not advise you to compromise, but to conquer." This same author says in his "Anti-Christ": "Ye have heard men say, 'Blessed are the peacemakers,' but I say unto you, 'Blessed are the war makers.'" General Moltke of the German army said that the real ballot was the cartridge which the German soldier carried in his cartridge box, and that the real representative of the nation was the army. Bethmann-Hollweg, Chancellor of Germany, in his address to the Reichstag

upon the day that the Germans invaded Belgium, said, "Military necessity knows no law." This German philosophy of force naturally resulted in military preparation, and it is easy to understand why the Germans were so prompt in their attack upon Russia and France when occasion arose in 1914.

Military Spirit. — The father of Frederick the Great gave the following written instructions to the tutors of his son: "Above all let both tutors exert themselves to the utmost to



"LESSON IN STRATEGY" BY PAUL LEGRAND, FRANCE, 1902

Psychological preparation for the World War.

inspire him with a love of soldiery and carefully impress upon his mind that, as nothing can confer honor and fame upon a prince except the sword, the monarch who seeks not his whole satisfaction in it must ever appear a contemptible character in the eyes of the world." The son proved to be the military leader that his father desired him to be.

Mirabeau, the great French orator at the commencement of the French Revolution, said, "War is the national industry of Prussia." Later, Napoleon remarked that Prussia "was hatched from a cannon ball." Shortly before the Franco-

Prussian War of 1870, the French military attaché, in reporting to his government, wrote that "other countries possess an army, but in Prussia the army possesses the country."

Six days after Bismarck became chief minister to the king in 1862, he said to the budget committee of the Prussian Chamber of Deputies: "Not by orations and majority decisions are the great questions of the age decided — this was the great mistake of 1848 and 1849 — but by blood and iron." In 1938 Hitler said that his foreign policy is to be backed by "steel and iron."

Ex-Ambassador Gerard said that Emperor William deliberately wrote: "From childhood I have been influenced by five men: Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar, Theodoric II, Frederick the Great, and Napoleon. Each of these men dreamed a dream of World Empire. They failed. I have dreamed a dream of German World Empire, and my mailed fist shall succeed."

Frederick William, former crown prince of Germany, said in his book "Deutschland in Waffen:": "Joy in bearing arms was ever in the hearts of our people. Even with the old Teutons a youth became a man only after he had his baptism of fire. . . . This warlike, loyal, and proud spirit we must cherish and transmit as a holy heritage to our children. The German who loves his people, who believes in the greatness and the future of his homeland, dares not let himself be soothed to slumber with the Utopian songs of peace. . . ."

Overemphasis of War in History. — Adolf Hitler in his *Mein Kampf* writes that he developed the love of militarism from reading about the Franco-Prussian War, and through the anti-Slavic teachings of his history professor; and so he became a "fanatical German Nationalist" and a "young revolutionist."

As long as historians continue to devote a large portion of their books to military campaigns and military heroes, youth will be thrilled and ambitious for military life.

Propaganda. — While most wars have an economic basis, they usually have a sentimental inception. By stories and editorials which appeal to the emotions, a nation can be made to believe that war is a moral duty. An editor of an American

chain of newspapers plausibly claimed that he was responsible for the Spanish-American War.

Race Aspiration. — National¹ (racial) states, such as Italy and Germany, developed in the nineteenth century; and a cause of the World War was the racial consciousness of the Serbs. They strove to annex their kinsmen of southern Austria-Hungary.

Today Germany is fighting the Jews for race purity, she annexed Austria and the Sudeten portion of Czechoslovakia largely because the inhabitants are Germanic, and she is increasing her population to inhabit more of the world with this Germanic stock. Italy is preaching the glory of the Romans. Even Japan, with an inferiority complex caused by rebuffs of the western whites, is backing its militarists through racial pride.

Philosophical Aspirations ("Ideologies") are a basic cause of wars today. Russian Communism planned a world revolution against capitalism. Fascism in Italy and Naziism in Germany opposed it. In Spain, Hitler and Mussolini opposed communism and also democracy, and World War II is a struggle between totalitarianism and liberty.

Fear. — People are willing to bear the heavy burden of taxation caused by military preparedness and to bear arms because of the fear of what might happen if the country were unable to defend itself. Governments now bolster their warlike preparations on grounds of necessity. The European powers feared one another before World War I, and thereafter feared one another even more, thus helping to bring World War II.

¹ "National" comes from the Latin word *nascor*, which means to be born; hence a national state is one composed of citizens or subjects with a common ancestry.

In 1939 Mussolini said: "We wish to hear no more about brotherhood, sisterhood, cousins, and other such bastard relationships because relationships between states are relationships of force . . ."

The same year Minister Joseph Goebbels, Hitler's right-hand propagandist, said: "Forget such terms as humanitarianism, civilization, international rights, and international confidence. For us Nazis, these arguments no longer have any appeal, since we long ago ceased believing in them."

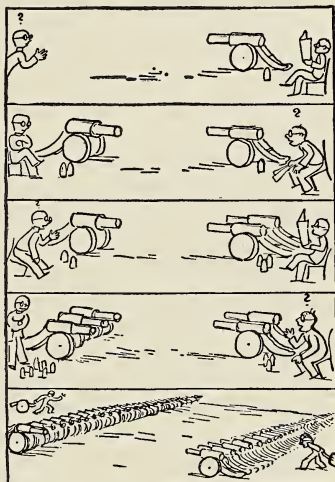
Of course all citizens of these dictatorial states do not accept these heathenish views, but unfortunately the youth of these countries are being taught that might makes right.

Sympathy for the Oppressed. — Many people would not support or take part in wars unless they believed them to be for the protection of the helpless. Therefore, advocates of war either truly or falsely picture the oppression of women and children, as for example, the German cruelties against the Jews, Poles, and other conquered people, or the Japanese atrocities in China.

POLITICAL CAUSES OF WARS

Personal Egotism. — A dictator wishes to glorify himself. His very existence depends upon an army, so he is prepared for war. To fulfill the great promises that he makes to his subjects he annexes territory by a show of force (Hitler in Austria) or by war if necessary (Mussolini in Abyssinia). When a dictator says that his country must recapture the glory of its past he usually means that he wishes to have the military glory that some past hero had. And when he says that his country cannot be moved from its line of action, he commonly means that he is stubborn and won't be moved.

Misdirected Patriotism. — Patriotism of "my-country-right-or-wrong" type is dangerous to the peace of the world. It enables vicious rulers to take great chances in the diplomatic arena, being assured of the support of their people in any event.



MILITARISTS TEACH OUR YOUTH THAT THIS IS THE ROAD TO NATIONAL SECURITY

Published by "Nie Wieder Krieg," Zurich, Switzerland. Obtainable on postcards at one cent each from the National Council for Prevention of War, Washington, D. C.

Magnifying the virtues of one's own country and excusing its defects, and exaggerating the faults of other nations and ignoring their merits, kill sympathy and understanding and breed ill will and counter enmity.

National Egotism. — The eminent chemist, Ostwald, in the early months of the World War, said: "Germany has attained to a stage of civilization far higher than that of all other peoples. This will, in the future, compel these other peoples to participate, under the form of German social efficiency, in civilization higher than their own."

Civilization can no more be produced by smashing blows of the mailed fist than flowers and fruit by biting winter blasts. The victors develop haughtiness and harshness; the vanquished, resentment and smoldering revolt or servility and treachery.

National Insults. — Because the United States believed that the Spanish sank the *Maine* in defiance of our sympathy for Cuba, the war cry, "Remember the Maine," threw the country into war with Spain.

Secret Diplomacy creates suspicions, suspicions create fear, fear results in heavy armament; and when a nation is loaded with heavy armament, it is likely to explode in war.

National Policies. — It was the nineteenth-century policy of England to protect Turkey, "the sick man of Europe." Therefore, in 1854, England waged the Crimean War to keep Russia out of Constantinople.

The German plans to dominate Eastern Europe, the Italian desires to make a Roman sea of the Mediterranean, and the Japanese policy of dominating the Orient, are basic policies that brought on World War II. To carry out these policies the three Axis powers ganged up against the rest of us.

ECONOMIC CAUSES OF WARS

Low or Changed Standards of Living. — Dr. O. R. Chambers¹ says: "There are two basic psychological facts. First, whenever a man has a standard and that standard is broken or sharply

¹ Professor of Psychology, Oregon State College.

reduced the individual suffers an emotional upset — he feels fear or rage or both (hate). He tends to fight to protect his former standard. The sharper the break and the greater the fall the more likely is the emotional upset to be severe and to endanger his personal relationships. Note that this standard being far above the individual's actual needs does not prevent the upset. It is not the position from which he falls but the distance that he falls that is significant.

"The second fact is that you cannot set standards of food, clothing, shelter, home life, etc., below the biological necessity level without there being such an upset. Even if the individual is born into a home or nation where the parents have never had enough food and clothing, still the individual is upset by the lack; and when conditions get bad enough he will go berserk ¹ (run amuck).

"There are certain things that may prevent the revolt for some time. One of these is liquor and another is dope. Japan is wise in her use of narcotics in China. Gambling tends to serve this same purpose. Some forms of religion, moral codes, mores, etc., may serve this purpose. But in the long run these fail and you have a group so desperate that they revolt.

"The only hope that I see, in the long run, of maintaining peace is to see that the individuals (and nations) do have biological necessities. However, in granting this we must be careful not to break sharply the standards of those who have more than biological necessity.

"The problem becomes, then, one of gradual education; of lifting the masses to sound biological standards; of keeping them moving in the direction which will encourage them to hope; and at the same time not radically endangering the position of those who now have more than they need.

"A concrete case of factors such as we have mentioned may be had by examining the Treaty of Versailles. The redistribution of territory removed from Germany her basic materials needed for industrial existence. It imposed upon her heavy

¹ There is a tradition of an ancient Scandinavian warrior, named Berserker, who fought regardless of wounds — like a wild animal.

reparations which were to be paid in gold. The creditor nations refused to exchange goods or to accept goods in payment. The only way that Germany could amass credits so that she might pay in gold was closed. Her colonies were gone — her world markets largely closed. Enormous numbers of her people were doomed to a below-biological-necessity-level of existence. Her people became more emotionally disturbed. They were not aware of the cause of their emotional distress but were in the mood to fear everyone and strike blindly. Internal dissension resulted; the nation had gone berserk. Whether she would destroy herself or destroy an outside force became a question of dynamic leadership. Hitler furnished that leadership and consolidated his people in the struggle against the outside world. I do not in the least condone the injustice of Hitler or Hitler's party, but I am willing to admit our part in setting the stage for his arrival.

“Another of these mistakes was made with regard to Japan. We forced her to open her doors to trade with the west, and the consequent mechanization and industrialization of her culture; but having forced her into the stream of world traffic, we refused her personal possessions, basic raw materials for such an industrial revolution. Furthermore, we refused to sell to her upon the usual basis of exchange. She could buy only for gold. Her people might not leave her shores to settle elsewhere. Her country was agriculturally inadequate. She could not raise enough rice to feed her millions nor could she catch enough fish from the sea. The living level of her people was kept or forced below the level of biological necessity. The masses of the people became emotionally aroused. Intellectual dissension was everywhere. It was a question of whether Japan would destroy herself or unite against an outside world force. The intelligence of the country consolidated the emotional fervor of the people and turned it to the task of seizing the things she needed. Again, while I cannot in the least condone the things that Japan has done in Manchuria and China, I can see and accept a partial responsibility for her having done as she has.

“When you pull a pendulum far up to the right and release it, it does not stop at the bottom of its arc, but swings far to the

left. When people, or groups, or nations have been put into one of these situations and as a result have revolted, they do not stop with justice to all concerned but continue to extremes of unreasonableness and brutality as great almost as those from which they have suffered and many times more shocking to us in the form they take, for we have grown calloused to the forms of injustice under which they have been suffering and so do not feel half so badly about rachitic children, underpaid department store workers, and enforced prostitution as we do about shell-torn mothers and infants."

Territorial Expansion may be prompted by a desire for colonization, for raw products, for sea outlets, to strengthen frontiers, for strategic locations, and to restore order in backward countries.

Colonization for Overpopulation. — In the United States the "haves" are taxed to provide opportunities or relief for the "have-nots." The "have-nots" in the over-populated countries of Italy, Germany, and Japan are demanding colonies or territory from such "have nations" as Great Britain, France, Russia, and China.

Raw Products. — The desire for coal sent Poland into Silesia; the desire for minerals, oil, fibers, and food products (as well as military glory) sent Italy into Abyssinia; and a desire for such products has caused Germany to demand the return of the colonies lost by her at the end of the World War. The desire for iron was also probably one factor that caused Mussolini and Hitler to back a friend in Spain.

Sea Outlets. — Peter the Great fought Sweden because of his desire for an outlet to the Baltic — as he expressed it, "to acquire a window to western civilization."

The restlessness of Serbia which resulted in the assassination of the Archduke of Austria and the World War was largely prompted by the desire for a sea outlet to the Adriatic, the accomplishment of which was blocked by Austria.

Strengthening Frontiers. — England's decision to enter the World War was determined by Germany's invasion of Belgium and the possibility of her seizing ports on the English Channel.

Strategic Locations. — England acquired Gibraltar as a result of war with Spain; it acquired Suez by the invasion of Egypt. Japan acquired Port Arthur at the end of the Russo-Japanese War; and Russia invaded Finland in 1939 for a strategic boundary and naval bases.

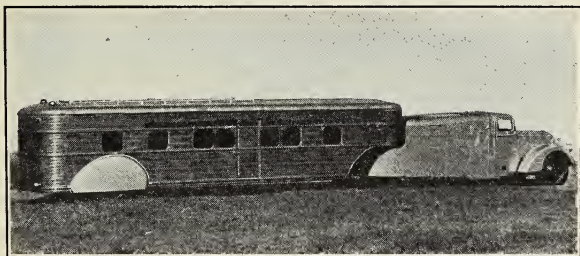
Backward Countries. — Weak and degenerating countries fail to protect citizens and investments of progressive countries; hence there are both a sentimental and an economic inducement for intervention. The backwardness of Morocco invited the Spanish and French colonization and was one of the principal contributory factors leading up to the World War. The French peasant may be poorer because his government administers an African empire, but certain French bankers or business men are no doubt richer because the French colonial officials give franchises, mining rights, docking privileges, favorable land and tax laws, and public works to France.

For a century, Turkey, unable to protect herself, was a cause of wars in Europe. For example, the Crimean War (1854) was fought to prevent Russia's acquisition of Constantinople; the Italian-Turkish War of 1911 to win for Italy Tripoli, an inefficiently controlled vassal of Turkey; and the Balkan War of 1912 to take Macedonia from Turkey and divide it among Balkan States.

Competition for Foreign Markets. — Density of population, protection given to patented articles, the invention of machinery and economy of large-scale production, the accumulation of capital, and climatic advantages have caused certain progressive countries to compete for foreign markets. Thus the large powers competed for Chinese markets and Japan today fights to make China her "economic colony."

Overproduction and resulting unemployment create a struggle for new markets. If protective tariffs close foreign markets against the nation that can produce most cheaply, the nation is tempted to seek colonies, and throw her tariff protection around these colonies for her own advantage. England established herself in such regions as India and Egypt. France gradually established herself in northern Africa. As Germany

had enjoyed considerable commerce with Morocco, she resented the political encroachment of France, knowing that France would throw her tariff walls around Morocco as she had done in Algeria. The year the World War began, 84 per cent of the Algerian imports came from France and 79 per cent of her exports went to France. Portugal and Spain had provided discriminating customs rates in their colonies. England enjoyed tariff advantages as high as 33 per cent of the normal rate in her



Courtesy Edward G. Budd Manufacturing Company

AMERICAN-MADE BUS FOR USE THROUGH THE DESERT TO BAGHDAD

self-governing dominions. Likewise, the United States had, to a large extent, assimilated her colonies in trade as a result of her tariff discriminations.

Competition for Foreign Investments. — Under our present capitalistic régime large fortunes are accumulated. This money cannot always be profitably invested at home because of keen competition or because the masses of people do not have the inclination or money with which to purchase additional commodities. Therefore, capitalists seek investments in undeveloped countries where there is promise of larger returns than at home. If a loan is made to a government of a backward country and the interest is not forthcoming, or if a revolution threatens the property of an investor, his home government is urged to protect the investment. If the home government gives this protection, it must have a large army and a large navy and be willing to use them.

Before the World War German imperialists looked longingly upon the sparsely settled regions of the Tigris and Euphrates valleys, which under modern methods of irrigation could be made to blossom as they have at various former periods when they supported cities which rival in size the metropolises of the West. A Prussian strategist saw the advantage of a railroad along the line of march traversed by Alexander the Great. In 1898 the German Kaiser visited Constantinople and secured from the Sultan a concession for the construction of a railway to connect Constantinople with the Persian Gulf by way of Konia (Iconium), Aleppo, Mosul, and Baghdad, a total distance of nearly 2000 miles, including the portion from Constantinople to Konia which had already been built. This concession was turned over to a German syndicate. This was the beginning of the Baghdad railway. This syndicate was to obtain the capital, to earn large profits in the construction of the road, and to have the operating expenses of the road guaranteed by the Turkish government. Aside from the profit derived from the building of this road, Germany expected raw products from this region. For instance, the region around Mosul is so suitable for the growth of cotton that the city has given us the name "muslin."

England and Russia objected to the completion of this road because Russia was laying claim to northern Persia and England to southern Persia. Moreover, the terminus on the Persian Gulf would have allowed Germany to compete on too favorable terms for the commerce of the Indian Ocean.

Economic Regionalism. — High trade barriers between countries have made it difficult for many nations to exchange their products for products that they lack — usually raw materials. Some theorists urge the development of regional self-sufficiency, such as a Europe-Africa unit, one of Eastern Asia, and one for the Western Hemisphere. Germany and Japan have attempted this by force, promising "A New Order in Europe," and a Japanese "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere." They really mean domination for their own nationals and slavery for others.

In contrast to this economic regionalism by force, the Pan

American ideal and the "Good Neighbor Policy" tries to build up the national economy of each state, yet guaranteeing political independence. This latter process may be slower, but its benefits are of a more permanent nature.

Profits on the Manufacture of War Materials. — During the first World War many people became millionaires through



From Lowell (Mass.) Evening Leader

A DESPERATE GAME

profits made from the manufacture of munitions and the building of ships. In some nations manufacturers have fought disarmament and have induced armament races between nations. During World War II profits have largely been taken out of such industries by profit restrictions and high taxation.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. What philosophy did Professor Treitschke teach in Germany before World War I?

2. What did a German Chancellor say when the Germans invaded Belgium?
3. What did Napoleon say regarding the birth of Prussia?
4. What did Chancellor Bismarck say regarding the method of making decisions?
5. In 1938 what did Hitler say regarding his foreign policy?
6. Explain how a history may contribute to the cause of war. Propaganda. Race aspiration. Philosophical aspirations. Fear. Sympathy for the oppressed.
7. Name six political causes of war.
8. Explain territorial expansion as a cause of wars: (1) colonization for over-population, (2) raw products, (3) sea outlets, (4) strengthening boundaries, (5) strategic locations, (6) backward countries.
9. Explain how competition for foreign markets, or for foreign investments, may cause war.
10. How may low standards of living cause wars?
11. Contrast Axis and American methods of developing regionalism.
12. How were munition profits largely taken out of World War II?

PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Elaborate upon the following quotation from Charles E. Hughes: "Provocative armament threatens aggression, breeds distrust, stimulates competition in arms, and leads to war."
2. Are young men or old men more likely to bring on war?
3. Hitler became a militarist from what he read and what he was taught in school. Generation after generation of Germans had been taught the "glories of war." Is there any way of preventing this influence in all nations for future generations?
4. Since the World War military training in our colleges has increased enormously. Where there was one army officer assigned to give military training there are now in many schools a dozen or a score. In favor of this system the value of systematic physical training and discipline are argued; and also that it is better to have trained civilians subject to call than to increase the size of the standing army. Do you think this training tends to produce a militaristic nation?
5. Italy, Germany, and Japan insist that nations with empires should share colonies with them to take care of their needy over-population; but these nations fight communism, which favors dividing the property of the rich with the poor. Do you see any inconsistency in the arguments of these fascist nations?
6. Is there any good reason why Germany and Italy demand colonies for surplus population, but encourage large families?
7. Should Germany and Italy be dissatisfied with their size when Switzerland, Denmark, and Sweden are content?

8. Is anything gained by one nation forbidding the private manufacture of arms if great warlike powers continue it?

9. Would the strong militarist nation or small peaceful nation have the advantage if the latter could not buy arms if invaded?

10. Admiral Thomas P. Magruder divides the causes of war into two classes: intolerance and competition. "The intolerance of rivalry, of freedom, of religion, of resentment against a growing and prosperous neighbor have caused past wars." However, Admiral Magruder thinks that education is tending to eliminate intolerance as a cause of war, but is not so optimistic regarding the elimination of competition as a cause of war. He points to competition for foreign markets, for raw materials, for expansion due to over-population, for colonial empire, and the "insensate and irrational competition in armaments." Do you agree with the Admiral's analysis?

11. Should international economic injustices be corrected by sudden war or by an evolutionary process through international co-operation and law?

12. One nation can make war, but it takes two to make peace. Therefore, is peace and justice attained by making pacifists of one nation when the citizens of another are being made militarists?

13. Present trade barriers are generally admitted to cause conflict. When war ends should we promote isolation without foreign commerce, economic regionalism for the Western Hemisphere, or international trade without high tariff and other trade restrictions?

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CHAPTER XXXII

EFFECTS OF INTERNATIONAL WARS

ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF WARS

War Destroys Human Lives. — During the Thirty Years' War in Germany (1618-1648) the population was reduced from 16,000,000 to 6,000,000. During World War I about 10,000,000 soldiers are known to have lost their lives and several millions more are presumed to be dead. These soldiers lost in the World War are estimated to have had an economic value of over \$33,000,000,000. And a like amount is estimated as the economic loss of the civilians who died from disease and starvation. World War II costs the world half a billion a day.

War Destroys Natural Resources. — The huge quantities of coal, petroleum, and iron ore consumed by modern warfare cannot be replaced. The miner must now go deeper for these products.

War Destroys Property. — Aside from the economic loss of human and natural resources, property valued at more than \$36,000,000,000 was destroyed by World War I.

War Creates Huge Debts for Both Winners and Losers. — To pay for the waging of a modern war a nation plunges deeply into debt. Even a winning nation cannot expect much from the loser because the losing nation has its economic set-up shattered after the war. If the winner attempts to extract payment by the force of arms as France did from Germany in 1923, it cuts off payments altogether, for people don't strive to produce for a foreign invader under the threat of the bayonet.

This vicious circle of economic destruction for all concerned in war is well illustrated by the case of Germany and the Allies after the settlement of the World War. It was demanded that Germany pay a principal sum of 132 billion gold marks in annual

installments of three billion marks. After a few payments, the amounts dwindled. With the French occupation of the Ruhr to force payment, England and the United States interceded with the suggestion that an expert commission with American participation be sent to Germany to work out a plan for the payment of her reparations. The result was the Dawes Plan,



WHAT WAR DOES

American boys in a church that has been shattered by enemy guns during the World War. Note the picture of the Prince of Peace on the wall.

according to which Germany was expected to pay 2,500,000,000 gold marks a year for an indefinite period plus whatever amounts might be due in conformity with a prosperity index based on the amount of German imports and exports, the total budget receipts and expenditures, railroad traffic, consumption of sugar, tobacco, beer, alcohol, and coal, and the increase in population. No indemnity was paid after Hitler came into power.

World War I increased the debts of the Allies from \$20,000,000,000 to \$100,000,000,000.¹ The Allies borrowed large amounts from the United States. During the War and immediately afterwards, the Government of the United States advanced to the Allies about \$10,000,000,000.

World War II is likely to increase the debt of the United States alone from about \$50,000,000,000 to \$300,000,000,000. In the past there was much controversy over whether the United States should cancel all the war debts owed to it, but now it is hardly a debatable question. No one expects any of these big debtors to pay old debts because they are now piling up still greater new debts.

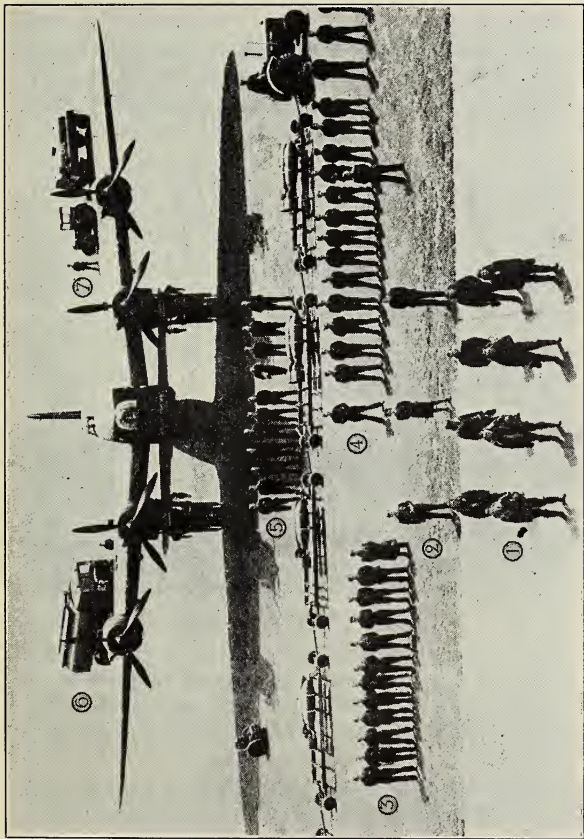
When one sees the stupendous economic waste wrought by these huge mass conflicts that we call modern war, one wonders that humanity doesn't turn its intelligence and energy to economic construction instead of to destruction.

War Creates Higher Taxes. — The direct costs of World War I are estimated by Professor Bogart to be about \$186,000,000,000. The indirect costs he estimates at about \$152,000,000,000. Thus he shows the total costs of the war to be about \$338,000,000,000.

The effect of World War I was to increase our national budget from \$1,000,000,000 to \$3,000,000,000 annually. World War II is expected to increase the annual interest alone on our national debt from \$1,000,000,000 to \$8,000,000,000. This is three times the cost of public education.

As evidence of the fact that our increased national taxes were due to wars, President Harding said in his Salt Lake speech (June, 1923): "When we stop to think that, when divided up, 85 per cent of American (national) taxes goes to the expense and obligations of wars, and only 15 per cent to the

¹ Russia borrowed a quarter of a billion dollars from the United States, and three and three-quarter billions from Great Britain, and three quarters of a billion from France. Italy borrowed \$1,800,000,000 from Great Britain and \$1,648,000,000 from the United States. France borrowed \$2,725,000,000 from Great Britain and from the United States \$3,340,000,000. Great Britain borrowed from the United States \$4,074,000,000.



Passed by British Censor

WHAT IT TAKES TO MAINTAIN AND FLY A BRITISH BOMBER

1, Air crew ; 2, flying control officer ; 3, flight maintenance crew ; 4, ground service crew ; 5, bombing-up crew ; 6, petrol driver ; 7, oil fuel driver.

promotion of the ideals and practices of peace, do you not think we ought to play our part, my countrymen, in helping the world abolish war?"

War Creates Economic Disturbances. — War between any two countries interferes with the commerce and industry of practically all other countries. It often throws out of employment millions of laborers. During the Civil War the cotton



THE RUINS OF CLOTHMAKERS' HALL, YPRES

workers in England found themselves without work when their supply of raw cotton was cut off. During the World War our textile industry was greatly hampered because we could not secure high-grade dyes which we were accustomed to obtain from Germany.

War creates an unusual demand for capital and therefore increases the rate of interest which the business man and home-builder must pay. Likewise, insurance rates must be increased to cover the heavy losses of life sustained in countries at war. And if the casualties are great enough, insurance companies will be unable to pay out.

If a war is of any duration, a nation is almost certain to inflate

its currency. This depreciates the value. In the defeated country the currency is likely to become worthless. As a consequence of World War I, good examples of such depreciation are the Russian ruble, the German mark, and the Austrian kronin. And the currency of even the victorious country is likely to become much depreciated. For example, the French franc and the Italian lira dropped to about a fifth of their former value.

Before the World War an Austrian physician inherited \$50,000 from a relative in the United States. He placed it in a savings bank in Vienna to insure himself against financial worry in his old age. In 1923 when the kronin had become practically worthless, the gold value of his legacy had become exactly \$3.15.

BIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF WARS

War Causes Physical Deterioration of the Race. — As only the physically sound are enlisted and drafted for the army, only the physically sound are killed. Therefore, a larger proportion of fathers of the next generation will be the undersized, the physically and mentally imperfect, the infirm and the weak — the seconds as it were!

It is said that in Rome "Marius destroyed the aristocrats; Sulla the democrats. Only cowards remained, and from their brood came forward the new generation." "The Roman Empire perished for want of men," says Seeley. "The human harvest was bad."

War Threatens the Extermination of the Race. — Only recently has war become the potential destroyer of the human race. The organization of mankind into great states and the rise of nations to full collective consciousness enable enterprises of slaughter to be planned and executed upon a scale previously unimagined. All the noblest virtues of individuals are gathered together to strengthen the destructive capacity of the mass. Good finances, world-wide credit and trade, and the accumulation of capital reserves make it possible to divert for a considerable period the energy of whole peoples to the task

of devastation. Railroads, steamboats, motors, and planes place and maintain millions of men continuously in action.

Through international law an effort has been made to restrict the character of death-dealing devices. Before World War I the use of poisonous gas was forbidden, but since this rule was so grossly ignored there seems to be a general feeling that the temptation to use new death-dealing discoveries will be too great



GENERAL PERSHING MEDITATING UPON THOSE WHO DIED IN HIS
COMMAND

to be resisted in desperate efforts to win a war. Therefore, unless we can prevent wars, we must face all of the following horrible possibilities:

Explosives. — An automatic gun has been perfected which fires one-and-a-quarter-pound shells at the rate of 120 per minute. And 4-ton "block busters" destroy cities. Submarines fire torpedoes from under the water and dive bombers drop them from the sky.

Poisonous Gas. — Of poisonous gas, D. B. Bradner, Chief of the Chemical Research and Development Section of the United States Chemical Warfare Service, said: "The Chemical Warfare Service has discovered a liquid approximately three drops of which, when applied to any part of the skin, will cause a

man's death. One plane carrying two tons of the liquid could cover an area 100 feet wide by seven miles long in one trip and could deposit material to kill every man in that area by action on his skin."

Disease Germs. — Just as the use of poisonous gas is forbidden by international law, so is the use of disease germs forbidden, but General E. G. Swinton, of the British army, said: "The great future weapon of war will be deadly germs. We have since the war discovered and developed germs which, dropped down upon cities and armies, will slaughter a nation in a day."

Crop Destroyers. — Just as airplanes are used to spray orchards to perfect the fruit, they could also be used to spread blight over fields to destroy crops.

Starvation Blockades. — Modern means of transportation and dependence upon it for food make starvation blockades possible.

Mr. Glenn L. Martin says his firm "can build a 250,000-lb. flying ship, able to carry 80 tons of bombs or cargo to Europe at the speed of more than 300 miles per hour at any time that there is a demand for it." Suppose the Axis should build these first and strike at the nerve centers and jugular veins of our industry — a dozen crucial power plants and railroad centers — and destroy a great section of our industry at one blow!

Molecular Force. — The famous English physicist, Sir Oliver Lodge, became enthusiastic in narrating the possibilities of molecular force. "Why," he said, "the mass of molecules that could lie in the palm of my hand would blow the German fleet from the North Sea to the top of Manchester Hill." He paused. "But," he said, "I hope we shall not yet find this force. The world is not ready for it."

SOCIAL EFFECTS OF WARS

War Causes Disrespect for Life. — Napoleon once said, "A soldier like me does not care a tinker's dam for the lives of a million men." After every war life is held in low esteem. After the French Revolution it was necessary for our Federal

Government to put a guard on every mail stage to protect life and property. After the Civil War we suffered from the Jesse James type of outlaws; and the increase of crime following the World War is notorious.

"Grim is the sea and cruel,
Fierce are the winds and fell;
But the strife of man is the fuel
That feeds the fires of hell!" — GRAY



AMERICAN BOYS IN FRANCE MOVING TO THE FRONT

War Diverts Reformers. — Political graft prospers during war, while national patriots are too busy helping win the war to be vigilant. For instance, while New York reformers were absorbed in the Civil War, the Tweed Ring came into power and grafted upon New York City. A court house designed to cost \$250,000 had \$8,000,000 expended upon it and was yet unfinished when wholesale graft was exposed.

Under such pressure as war brings, even Tennyson was diverted from his usual ideals to give expression to the following militaristic appeal :

Let your reforms for a moment go.
Look to your butts and take good aims.
Better a rotten borough or so,
Than a rotten fleet and a city in flames.

War Creates False Perspective. — Philosophy and even theology are commonly turned topsy turvy under the excitement of war. During the World War the author heard a preacher in one of our allied countries pray from his pulpit that the enemy be speedily defeated. We are assured that German preachers prayed for the defeat of the Allies. If both sides were to be defeated, the preachers were really praying for a great slaughter.

Teachers and historians waste much energy narrating military campaigns. The space in the text and the time of the teacher could be spent in a more constructive way by presenting the lives of great inventors, statesmen, reformers, and philanthropists, as well as those of military patriots.

MORAL EFFECTS OF WARS

Military Life Discourages Marriages and Home Making. — In modern warfare families are not allowed to accompany the army. Even in time of peace men of the navy are not allowed to have their families with them, and privates of the army cannot live with their families even if they could support them. Military camps are therefore noted for "gay life" because the restraining influence of a family or the healthy public opinion of neighbors is lacking.

War Destroys Moral Standards. — In an effort to counteract the nervous strain to which soldiers are subjected, such devices as supplying the men with cigarettes and rum and granting frequent furloughs for other forms of dissipation were commonly resorted to during World War I. Ex-Premier Nitti of Italy said: "The losses in human life and property, great as they are, are small evils compared to the undermining of morals and the lowering of standards of culture and civilization."

Immoral Conditions Combated by the United States. — Realizing that homesickness and lack of desirable recreation and companionship are conducive to gambling, drunkenness, and prostitution, the Government, aided by United Service Organizations, is trying to provide wholesome environment for the soldiers, and may prohibit prostitution near camps.

ONE WAR OFTEN LEADS TO ANOTHER

War Aggravates Disputes — Seldom Settles Them. — Have you ever seen two boys quarrel over a marble? One boy says, "It's mine." And the other calls him a liar. Boy number one calls boy number two another. One gets licked and goes off blubbering and saying, "Well, it *is* mine. You just wait till I get big enough and I'll knock your block off." The fight, for the time being, is over; but it creates a hatred which no doubt will lead up to another fight.

Napoleon, who had an unusual opportunity to know whereof he spoke, once said: "I doubt if war ever really settled anything. It unsettles everything. . . . The more I study the world, the more I am convinced of the inability of brute force to create anything durable."

WARS FORCED UPON PEACEFUL NATIONS

Self Defense. — A man will seldom stand aside and see armed bandits loot his home. Likewise a nation will resist an invasion, sometimes even against overwhelming odds. We all admire The Netherlands, Greece, and Yugoslavia for their valor when it seemed like national suicide.

War for Defense of Ideals. — In spite of the fact that people are usually dominated by selfish motives and that self-interest is a prime factor in most wars, there are often ideals involved which arouse public opinion to an unselfish cause. For instance, the United States might have isolated herself and turned a deaf ear to the sufferings in Europe and Asia, but the American spirit of fair play would not permit this. Rather than allow the barbaric governing of the world by force we were drawn into the war, expecting no gains and knowing that the cost would be terrific. As a nation we were willing to give everything, if necessary, to insure the defeat of Hitler and the reign of militarism.

Hitler did not expect the United States to come to the aid of his besieged victims except on a selfish monetary basis. Our Lend-Lease Act was the first step in proving him wrong in expecting Uncle Sam to be a Shylock.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Explain how war destroys natural resources.
2. Explain how war robs people of their life's savings through inflation and the failure of insurance companies.
3. Explain how war creates huge debts for both winners and losers.
4. How many soldiers lost their lives during World War I?
5. The direct costs of World War I are estimated at how much by Professor Bogart?
6. Explain how war creates economic disturbances.
7. Explain how war creates physical deterioration of the race.
8. Explain how war causes disrespect for life.
9. Explain how war diverts reformers.
10. Explain how war creates false perspective.
11. Explain how military life discourages home making.
12. Explain how war destroys moral standards.
13. Explain how war aggravates disputes.
14. Under what conditions may wars be justifiable?

PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION

1. After a battle Napoleon Bonaparte wrote to the Empress Marie Louise: "My health is good. I lost no one of any importance. I put my losses at three thousand killed and wounded." Do you think modern dictators are this indifferent to those willing to fight for them?

2. Before World War I the German government could borrow money at three and one-half per cent. In 1924 she borrowed \$110,000,000 in New York and had to pay seven per cent for it. What are the reasons for this increased rate of interest?

3. World War I created 7000 miles of additional tariff walls in Europe. Did this make it easier or more difficult for Europe to profit by the economy of large-scale production? Could Ford sell his new cars at their low price if they were manufactured in one of the little European countries?

4. Referring to World War I, Lloyd George said: "Inventions and counter-inventions, every death-dealing device that science could discover, deepened month by month the fighting front, and brought war closer and closer to the great civilian populations. We ourselves were contemplating the bombing of Berlin when the Germans yielded, and if the war had lasted a few weeks longer we should have been using a poison gas deadlier than any that had gone before.

"Yes, war is a ruthless business. And once a man is in the business he succumbs to its influence. He acquires the war mind. He develops a passion for destruction. We destroyed towns in France, and the French themselves destroyed them, because there were Germans in them.

"The man at war becomes a savage. The only difference between wars of the past and those of the present is that they are now scientific savagery. War calls science to its aid, and prostitutes science. I want to see science dedicated to the cause of peaceful progress, because I am sure that if there is another war Europe will become a black ruin."

The ruin of Europe would have what effect upon the United States?

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Courtesy Oregonian

CHAPTER XXXIII

PROPOSED METHODS OF PREVENTING INTERNATIONAL WARS

Introduction. — An important function of government is to insure justice. Justice often needs to be enforced against unreasonable, selfish, or mad persons. For this purpose we have police. In the counties we call them sheriffs, deputy sheriffs, and constables; in cities we call them policemen. In many states, like Pennsylvania and New York, we have state police forces; in the nation we have marines who are assigned to police duty at home or in our dependencies. Other divisions of our army are on occasions sent into a state for police duty when invited by the legislature or governor of the state, or to protect such federal service as the mails, or to guard our national borders.

Without this kind of police protection governments would be powerless — in other words, we should have anarchy. But we must not confuse the police function of force with the war function of force. Police differ from soldiers in at least three respects:

(1) The police are neutral third parties to bring criminals to judicial trial for an impartial decision based upon law. But soldiers make decision of battle by might. Instead of the impartial scales of justice, which may be balanced in the calm of the court room, we have the fury of passion in blind destruction.

(2) The police deal with criminals, while soldiers at war seldom are able to apprehend and try the guilty persons.

(3) The police exist primarily to protect life and property, while soldiers are equipped primarily for the destruction of life and property.

In brief, we shall always need forces to police the world; but we should not need sixty-odd large armies. For each nation to maintain an army is as though each home were protected

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by its own police instead of depending upon the city police. Each country needs a force to maintain order within its borders; but if a majority of the great powers would co-operate in maintaining international law and order they would not need the enormous burdensome armies that most of them now maintain.

The nations might begin this co-operation in a limited way. They might first internationalize their air forces, then their fleets, and after that create an international marine force.



POPE PIUS XII

The Pope has always exerted his influence in the cause of peace.

PSYCHOLOGICAL AIDS TO PEACE

Practice the Philosophy of Love.—The most fundamental antidote for war is the philosophy of love. The Prince of Peace taught the Fatherhood of a God of Love as opposed to a tribal god of exclusive nationalism. He taught us to love our neighbors

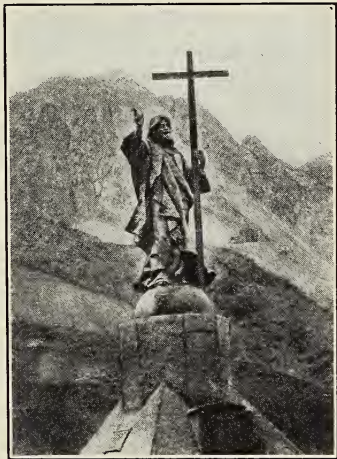
as ourselves, and even to love our enemies and pray for our persecutors. He taught us to overcome evil with good.

Argentina and Chile had a long-standing boundary dispute which became acute in 1899. Both countries prepared for the worst. War ships were laid down, armament amassed, and taxes increased. By Easter, 1900, the two nations stood poised on the brink of war. On Easter Day, Bishop Benavente preached at Buenos Aires, making a passionate appeal for peace in the name of Christ.

The news of this sermon spread across the Andes, and a Chilean bishop took up the message. Thereupon the two

bishops toured their countries and caused such a flood of petitions to come upon their governments that the frontier question was settled by arbitration. In 1902 the two governments concluded an unconditional treaty of arbitration, one of the earliest of such treaties known to the world since the days of ancient Greece. They bound themselves for a period of five years to submit all disputes to arbitration.

The guns of the frontier fortresses, now of no use, were cast into a great bronze figure of Christ, and the governments carried it up 13,000 feet to a mountain top. In 1904 the statue was dedicated to the world. At the celebration Argentine soldiers camped on the Chilean side, and the Chileans on the Argentine side. Martial music and the thunder of guns proclaimed the inauguration of the law of peace; but the statue was



CHRIST OF THE ANDES

unveiled in profound silence, and at sunset the two peoples fell to prayer together for the peace of the world.

Find Moral Equivalents of War. — For the glamorous appeal of war, for the youthful desire of adventure, and for military hero worship, the lover of peace must find substitutes. Even Walt Whitman, a Quaker, at the age of forty-two, felt the thrill of tramping horses, clanking arms, and martial music. In a letter written to his mother on June 30, 1863, just before the fateful battle of Gettysburg, he said: "It was an old regt. [regiment], veterans, *old fighters*, young as they were. They were preceded by a fine mounted band of sixteen (about ten bugles, the rest cymbals and drums). I tell you, mother. it made everything

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ring — made my heart leap. They played with a will. Then the accompaniment: the sabers rattled on a thousand men's sides — they had pistols, their heels were spurred — handsome American young men (I make no acc't of any other); rude uniforms, well worn, but good cattle [horses], prancing — all good riders, full of the devil; nobody shaved, very sunburnt. The regimental officers (splendidly mounted) but just as roughly dressed as the men, came immediately after the band, then company after company, with each its officers at its head — the tramps of so many horses (there is a good hard turnpike) — then a long train of men with led horses, mounted negroes, and a long, long string of baggage wagons, each with four horses, and then a strong rear guard. I tell you it had the look of *real war* — noble looking fellows; a man feels so proud on a good horse, and armed. They are off toward the region of Lee's (supposed) rendezvous, toward Susquehanna, for the great anticipated battle. Alas! how many of these healthy, handsome, rollicking young men will lie cold in death before the apples ripen in the orchard."

War
 I abhor,
 And yet how sweet
 The sound along the marching street
 Of drum and fife! And I forget
 Wet eyes of widows, and forget
 Broken old mothers, and the whole
 Dark butchery without a soul.

Oh, it is wickedness to clothe
 Yon hideous grinning thing that stalks
 Hidden in music, like a queen
 That in a garden of glory walks,
 Till good men love the thing they loath.
 Art, thou hast many infamies,
 But not an infamy like this;
 Oh, snap the fife and still the drum,
 And show the monster as she is!

— RICHARD LE GALLIENNE

The enthusiasm exhibited in a large stadium over a game of football suggests that we might satisfy the glamorous appeal

of the army by glamour on the athletic field, — football, baseball, polo, track, or basket-ball, when accompanied by stirring music and waving flags or pennants.

The desire for adventure draws many a youth into the army. Often this is the only opportunity offered him to get away from home and “see the world.” Our Government might create industrial armies for irrigating our west, paving our roads, making park-like national forests, and harnessing our waterfalls. The ambitious might serve as engineers, the less ambitious as clerks and mechanics, and the indifferent as laborers. The young men might volunteer for this work for limited periods and be under responsible supervision. Enlarging the work during the summer would provide fine vacation opportunities for students.

Our school histories sometimes educate for war. General John F. O’Ryan says, “Our school histories should be rewritten. Our very conception of patriotism should be revised. In order to breed a race for war the school books should always laud the warrior. I think, for instance, that I can trace my own military career to Barnes’ History, with a particularly inspiring picture of Phil Sheridan waving his hat and yelling: ‘Turn, Boys, turn! We are going back!’” But America has plenty of peace heroes who have given their lives for moral reforms, for the advancement of medicine, in the fields of industry and philanthropy. If we had an international police force we could safely inflame a civic temper instead of a military temper.

Develop an International Mind. — Every man should have at least three loyalties: to family, to country, to God and humanity. Loyalty to country makes one more truly loyal to family because the family’s welfare is so interwoven into the national welfare. Likewise, loyalty to God and humanity makes one more loyal to country, because in our present world of easy communication and complex interrelations the welfare of country is so dependent upon the welfare of all other nations that we cannot have peace unless a general attitude for peace is created.

We should begin to develop the international mind in the child:



INTERNATIONAL HOUSE, CHICAGO

To this residence and social center come each year more than a thousand graduate students, both foreign and American. Here through educational and social activities, they learn to know and understand each other and racial prejudices disappear. The motto of International House symbolizes the spirit of the institution and is one that might well be adopted by all nations: "That Brotherhood May Prevail."

"In hearts too young for enmity,
There lies the way to make men free ;
When children's friendships are world-wide,
New ages will be glorified.
Let child love child, and strife will cease.
Disarm the hearts, for that is peace."¹

The National Council for the Prevention of War (532, 17th Street, Washington, D. C.) issues a folio of ten decorative pictures with verse for each, to create in our children a sympathy and love for the children of other nations.



OLYMPIC GAMES IN GERMANY, 1936

Black Star

The English-speaking Union seeks to draw together in the bond of comradeship the English-speaking peoples of the world by meeting together and living together in such places as the Dartmouth House of London. International Houses built by Mr. Rockefeller at Columbia, Chicago, California, and Paris universities bring together students of all nations. Hospices maintained in many countries by the Friends Society help to promote important international acquaintances. And Youth Hospices promote international friendships among the young.

¹ These lines are taken from a poem written by Ethel Blair Jordan, and have been copyrighted by the American Red Cross.

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Endowed scholarships for students are helpful in breaking down international prejudice. Good examples of these are Guggenheim scholarships and Rhodes scholarships. The international exchange of students by fraternities is most worth while.

The Olympic Games which rotate from country to country every fourth year offer a wonderful opportunity for the host country to gain the good will of the tens of thousands that attend. In 1936 Germany took full advantage of this opportunity.

Prizes awarded for the best essay on some phase of peace or international good will is a far-reaching method of arousing interest in international justice. The \$100,000 prize awarded by Edward Bok brought forth 22,165 peace plans. Likewise, international debates between students of foreign and American colleges promote good will.

Courses on international relations offered in our colleges and institutes of politics, such as that held at Williams College for a month each summer, bring together leaders of thought and develop a fusion of ideas that promotes international consciousness.

CAUTION. — If the youth of the United States are taught pacifism while those of rival nations are taught militarism the latter might misconstrue our pacifism for cowardice and take advantage of it. If the great powers will not co-operate with us in discouraging war, we should still teach our youth to work for justice by peaceful means; but until a predominance of nations will co-operate to promote international peace and justice it seems that we must be prepared to back any stand that we may take in the interest of international justice. Some nations indulge in sins of commission by causing wars; and we will commit sins of omission if we merely wash our hands of world problems.

POLITICAL AIDS TO PEACE

Abolish Secret Diplomacy. — Before the World War the uncertainty of the provisions of the Triple Alliance (Germany, Austria, and Italy), the uncertainty of the Triple Entente (France, Russia, and England), and the uncertainty of the

provisions of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance caused each country to be suspicious of the others. This produced fear and worked into the hands of the munition makers.

The League of Nations Covenant, provided that no international treaty should be binding until it was registered with the Secretariat of the League. Thousands of treaties were registered with the Secretariat of the League. All of these treaties were translated into French and English. They were collected into volumes and were for sale. (The League of Nations is no longer active.)

Create Mandates. — Many backward countries prove themselves incapable of self-government, or at least warrant a receivership. Under present conditions of transportation and communication, the advanced countries cannot tolerate places where disease is bred, where bandits organize, where opiates are prepared for shipment, or where the laws assist bootleggers in violating the laws of neighboring countries.

If a country on its own initiative intervenes and acts as guardian of such backward countries, suspicion is created that political annexation or commercial absorption is the motive. Therefore, it would seem well if complaints could be brought to some constituted authority, such as the League of Nations, whenever one nation feels that another has by inefficiency or misconduct forfeited its right in the family of nations. This authority should then designate a guardian for the deficient country, subject to certain limitations which will guarantee justice to the deficient nation and equal commercial opportunities to all other nations. (See Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.) An international mandate would be more just.

Remove Fear by Co-operative Guaranty. — In our western states the Forty-Niners "toted artillery" in their hip pockets until government was sufficiently established to give them protection. Likewise, a nation is likely to maintain a burdensome army until there is some governmental organization that will say to a threatening nation in no unmistakable terms, "It is against the law for you to invade foreign territory." The League of Nations Covenant (Article 10) guaranteed territorial

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integrity, but with the strong impartial United States out of the League this guaranty was effective only against small nations.

To enforce such a law the co-operating powers may agree to assist a nation if she is attacked, either by giving her actual military support or by severing all relations with the offending country. Severing relations would mean severing diplomatic relations, commercial relations, postal relations, wireless relations, would stop the payment of the income of its citizens from all foreign investments and credits, and would isolate the country from all personal intercourse.

However, these co-operative guarantees must be fully carried into effect against an aggressor nation or the nations will lose faith in such agreements. The Locarno Treaty of 1925 reduced the fear of Germany on the part of France until other nations witnessed Germany's violation of the pact without taking any action to prevent her doing so.

Create Neutral Zones. — The existence of forts bristling at each other across national boundaries is a constant reminder of hostile intent. And the presence of soldiers with mutual hostile attitudes is calculated to produce personal animosities. Therefore, neutral zones, such as the one between Turkey and Greece, are silent promoters of peace.

Restrict Naval Armaments. — Since the World War there have been several attempts to restrict naval armaments in order to avoid the heavy costs of an armament race, and with the hope that the equilibrium established by the conferences would discourage nations from going to war, knowing that they did not have the preponderance of power.

The Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armaments was called by President Harding in 1922 primarily to settle disputes likely to lead to war in the Pacific area. The nine nations that have territorial possessions in the Pacific were represented. Aside from Japan's agreement to withdraw from Shantung, the most important agreements were the five-power naval treaty and the four-power treaty which replaced the Anglo-Japanese alliance of 1902. According to the five-power naval treaty the British Empire, the United States, Japan,

France, and Italy agreed to limit naval armament until December 31, 1936, and thereafter until one of the signatories terminated the treaty by giving two years' notice. (Japan gave such notice in December, 1934, and terminated the treaty.)

The Three-Power Naval Treaty, concluded at the London Naval Conference of 1930, established a parity between Great Britain and the United States. Japan joined with the United States and Great Britain in limiting the total tonnage of all types of war craft.¹

In December, 1935, the three powers together with France and Italy met in the London Arms Limitation Conference to sign a new naval treaty that would take the place of the three-power treaty when it expired (December 31, 1936).

The achievements were modest, indeed, for Italy refused to co-operate and Japan withdrew because the terms were not sufficiently in her favor. A disappointing treaty was finally concluded March 25, 1936, between Great Britain, France, and the United States. It became effective January 1, 1937, and remained in force until France fell.

Disarmament in the Pacific. — In 1922 Great Britain, the United States, and Japan agreed to maintain the *status quo* with regard to fortifications and naval bases in most of their Pacific possessions. Also in 1922 the British Empire, the United States, France, and Japan agreed among themselves to respect one another's rights in relation to their insular possessions and insular dominions in the region of the Pacific Ocean. This treaty was in force for ten years, and continued in force subject to the right of any party to terminate it upon twelve months' notice.

Economic Factor of Limitation. — The above is a brief summary of what has been done to limit naval armaments. The results have not been all that people hoped for, but in spite of the modesty of achievement these conferences have accomplished some good. Their contribution to lasting peace is questionable, for mere limitation of arms does not insure peace. But it does cut down the taxpayer's bill.

¹ The tonnage allowed was: United States, 1,114,100; Great Britain, 1,149,050; Japan, 713,620: the so-called 5:5:3 agreement.

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Peace Factor of Limitation. — While it is usually an economic factor behind a naval limitations conference, there is also validity in the belief that limitation of armaments reduces chances of wars. If power is balanced by limitation, then a nation is more hesitant about plunging into war, for it knows that it has relatively no more power than any other nation (speaking only of the Major Powers). If one nation, especially under a dictatorship, has a preponderance of power it is likely to want to use it.

There is also a psychological factor involved in limitation of arms that makes for peace. There is no apprehension, but a feeling of security when you know that your neighbor has agreed not to make any more guns. Therefore you don't make any more. Both of you feel safer, and you are more likely to go about your peaceful business without thinking of war.

Building Armaments for Peace? — Unfortunately the world has failed at disarmament and has chosen the vicious circle of an armaments race. All the great powers, Japan, the United States, Great Britain, Italy, France, Germany, and also Russia entered the naval race.

Out of the failure of the London Arms Limitation Conference came a new conception of the way to peace. President Roosevelt voiced it in his "Quarantine" speech at Chicago. It is the belief that gradual disarmament for the whole world has become impossible because of the war philosophy of the dictatorships, and that disarmament by the democracies alone would be tantamount to suicide. Therefore in the interest of international peace, law, and order, it is best for the democracies to build huge fleets which if used co-operatively would be capable of policing the world. And, when a nation felt inclined to break international law and disrupt the world, it would be the duty of the other nations to restrain it with force if necessary.

The plan was given the color of practicability by the claim that Hitler, when he ordered his troops into the Rhineland, also told the commander to withdraw if the French army moved in to

expel them; and that Mussolini ordered his commander to cease operations in Ethiopia if the British closed the Suez Canal and showed signs of fight.

Arbitrate. — During the nineteenth century there were 471 disputes voluntarily arbitrated between nations. This list includes such familiar cases as the *Alabama* claims case, the Alaskan boundary case, and the Newfoundland fisheries case.

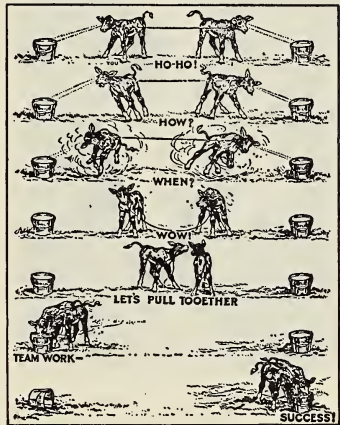
Many nations have voluntarily entered arbitration treaties which provide for settling disputes that are likely to lead to war. Each nation usually appoints two arbitrators and these four persons choose the fifth.

These treaties are commonly subject to so many restrictions as greatly to reduce their value. For instance, some of the arbitration treaties to which the United States is a party exempt "questions involving the independence, the honor, the vital

interests, or the sovereignty of the United States." And most of our so-called arbitration treaties merely provide that we will not go to war before the controversy is inquired into by an arbitration commission. This leaves us free to do as we choose even after the commission has announced its findings. However, this agreement for arbitral inquiry causes a delay, and nations do not usually go to war in cold blood.

Italy at one time agreed to arbitrate all of its disputes with Switzerland; and, by a separate treaty, agreed to arbitrate all of its disputes with Germany.

The United States also negotiated arbitration treaties with



THE LESSON OF CO-OPERATION OR
ARBITRATION

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the leading foreign powers in its efforts to prevent war.

A "*Permanent Court of Arbitration*" was established by The Hague Conference in 1899 and improved by the second Hague Conference in 1907. This so-called permanent court is still in existence. But it consists merely of a panel of jurists,



GOOD FRIENDS IN SPIKE OF
DIFFERENCES

Cats do not kill rats if they are raised together and understand each other, unless the mother cats show them how. Young people, too, through association learn to understand each other.

four or less from each nation, chosen for a term of six years. When two states voluntarily agree to arbitrate a dispute, five of these jurists may be chosen. Each nation involved selects two judges (only one of its own citizens) and the four thus selected name the fifth. These five judges resort to The Hague where the International Court House, which was donated by Andrew Carnegie, is located, and hear the case. Under this arrangement no nation is compelled to arbitrate its disputes.

Join the World Court.—

Justice is maintained by impartial laws that are

enforced by impartial tribunals. National tribunals are naturally partisan; therefore, they are not trusted in the settlement of international disputes. When our Union was created, the Supreme Court of the United States was given jurisdiction in cases between states, and it has successfully settled more than seventy of such cases. Now we need a tribunal to settle disputes between nations. (See Chapter XXXIV.)

Encourage or Join an International Union.—Peace is likely to come only through justice, justice through law, and the

enforcement of law through organization. Some form of organization is necessary if international peace is to be obtained.

Peace and order are institutional products. In every community where peace and order prevail, you have government. The township has peace and order. It has government. The county has peace and order. It has government. The state has peace and order. It also has government. And, finally, the United States of America has peace and order because it, too, has a government to procure it. But in the international community we have had no impartial officers to adjust the differences between nations.

The League of Nations was an encouraging step in this direction. It was not a perfect organization, but its constitution was not difficult to amend. Because of political prejudice against the League in the United States and because Germany associates it with the enforcement of the Versailles Peace Treaty, a new organization might be more acceptable to these powers.

Union of Democracies Proposed by C. K. Streit. — In a 1939 book, entitled *Union Now*,¹ Mr. Streit proposed the Union of the following democracies: U.S.A., Great Britain, France, Switzerland, Belgium, Netherlands, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Canada, Australia, Ireland, New Zealand, and South African Union. These are called "Founder Democracies," but he proposed the subsequent admission of others.

Union for Five Purposes:

Common Citizenship
Common Defense Force
Union for Free Trade
Common Monetary System
Postal and Communications Union

¹ *Union Now* by Clarence K. Streit. 1939. Harper & Bros., N.Y. \$3. Chapter I, which summarizes the book, is published by the Union Press, National Union Building, Washington, D.C. Single copies 25¢ each. In quantities of 10 or more 10¢ each.

Ten Facts About Union Now is published by the Committee of Correspondence for World Federal Union. Room 615, 70 Pine Street, New York. 2¢ each. In quantities of 100 or more 1¢ each.

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Membership of Lower House: About 1 for 1,000,000 Persons:

Australia	7	Ireland . .	3	Switzerland .	2
Belgium	8	Netherlands	8	South Africa	7
Canada	11	New Zealand	2	Great Britain	46
Denmark	4	Norway . .	3	United States	124
France .	42	Sweden . .	6	Total	273

Membership of Senate:

United States . .	8
Great Britain . .	4
France	4
Each of Others . .	2

Premier to remain in office as long as majority supports him.

Executive Board consisting of three elected at large and one chosen by each House of Congress.

Supreme Court to interpret the Union Constitution and decide disputes between member states.

Colonies or Dependencies (India, for example) to become mandates of the Union unless incorporated with mother country or made member of Union.

Admission to the Union to be open to any democracy that guarantees its citizens the Union's minimum Bill of Rights.

Arguments for Union: (1) An alliance, league, or confederation is unstable among democracies because governments change rapidly, (*e.g.*, World War Alliance, League of Nations, Articles of Confederation).

(2) A Union has almost invariably succeeded, (*e.g.*, U.S.A., Switzerland with three languages, Canada, Australia).

(3) A common citizenship should work because citizens of the uniting democracies are accustomed to democracy, and to a relatively high standard of living.

(4) A common defense force would reduce defense taxes for the member nations because the Union would not be imperialistic. Other nations would fear their united strength for they would possess almost half of the earth, govern nearly half of mankind, do two thirds of the world's trade, have more

than 60% of war materials, and possess practically all of the world's monetary gold.

(5) With free trade the have-not nations could get what they need without war by qualifying and entering the Union.

Free trade would subject the United States to competition from other member states, but we have free trade among our 48 states and have mutually profited by the arrangement.

By the proposed Union the U.S.A. could greatly increase its exports to the other members. It would also subject our tariff-protected industries to injurious competition unless we put the free trade provision into effect gradually.

(6) A common monetary system would stabilize trade among members. The United States has found it necessary to set aside \$2,000,000,000 as a stabilization fund to prevent foreign monetary systems from interfering with our foreign trade.

(7) A postal and communications union would be the easiest to administer of all suggested. The whole Union idea is made more practical because radio broadcasting largely removes the different-language difficulty. The world is a common forum.

(8) Dorothy Thompson said: "Politicians will say that this cannot be done, but the ordinary man in the street will ask, 'Why can't it? It makes sense.'"

Future Possibilities. — Many of the democracies included in the Stréit Plan are now occupied by the Axis army; but most of them are now prosecuting the War as United Nations. After these United Nations win the War would be an opportune time to form a Union to defend themselves against future aggressions. But a larger concept is a World Federation open to all nations that will accept a constitution prepared by the United Nations. (See pages 614 to 618.)

ECONOMIC AIDS TO PEACE

Practice Tariff Reciprocity. — Countries whose populations are dense in proportion to their resources must purchase food or raw materials from other countries. To pay for these raw products the country must find a market for its manufactured

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goods. If such a market cannot be found, it is difficult for that population even to exist, because it cannot sell its only resource — its labor.

Therefore, a nation with natural resources should be willing to accept certain manufactured articles in exchange for its raw products, and thus keep the people of all nations employed. President Roosevelt had made considerable headway in this direction through the conclusion of reciprocal trade treaties with a third of the nations of the world before World War II began.

Practice the Exchange of Surplus Commodities. — The United States recently plowed under cotton and killed pigs. Why not encourage large-scale economic production and then trade its surpluses of agricultural commodities to the hungry Orientals and the under-fed Europeans in exchange for their manufactured products that we otherwise would not buy? So as not to interfere with home industries unduly the Government would have to buy non-competitive products or, through Government co-operation, arrange for greater consumption of competitive products. For example, if our Government were normally building 1,000,000 houses a year and increased the number to 2,000,000 it could accept some of the materials going into these houses from the foreign country without interfering with the normal business of American manufacturers of building materials.

This exchange of commodities on a large agreed scale would give a country like Germany a sufficient supply of raw materials and foods, and thus allay her clamor for colonies — which was one of the causes of the World War II.

Increase Purchasing Power at Home. — The United States has been depending upon foreign markets for about a tenth of her products. President Hoover endeavored to expand our exports. President Roosevelt is emphasizing an increase of consumption at home through higher wages.

Provide Sea Outlets. — Land-locked countries now feel the inconvenience of having to reach the world's markets through a neighboring country, and they have a constant temptation to seize some neighboring seaport. The League of Nations attempted to meet this situation by providing for freedom of

communication and transit and an equitable treatment for the commerce of all members of the League. (See Covenant, Article 23, c.)

Forbid Private Manufacture of Munitions. — To overcome the menace to peace growing out of the private manufacture of munitions, the League of Nations Covenant directed the Council of the League to advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture may be prevented. A commission was appointed to investigate. In its report to the League, September 15, 1921, six objections to the untrammelled private manufacture of munitions were listed :

1. That armament firms have been active in fomenting war scares and in persuading their own countries to adopt warlike policies and to increase their armaments.

2. That armament firms have attempted to bribe government officials, both at home and abroad.

3. That armament firms have disseminated false reports concerning the military and naval programmes of various countries, in order to stimulate armament expenditure.

4. That armament firms have sought to influence public opinion through the control of newspapers in their own and foreign countries.

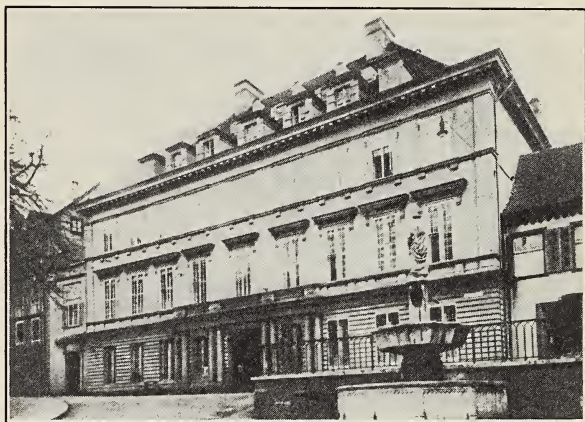
5. That armament firms have organized international armament rings through which the armament race has been accentuated by playing off one country against another.

6. That armament firms have organized international armament trusts which have increased the price of armaments sold to governments.

As yet the nations have not agreed to forbid the private manufacture of munitions, but in 1937 the Popular Front Government of France, under Premier Blum, nationalized the manufacture of munitions with some exceptions. Action by a single nation is of little value; and even a general agreement would work a hardship upon small states inclined to peace. Had Germany, armed to the teeth, invaded Switzerland, the latter would have been handicapped if she could not buy arms; and the French government could not sell arms to Switzerland without violating international rules of neutrality, if international law is any longer law. It does not violate international law for private citizens of a neutral nation to supply munitions to a nation at war.

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Conscript Property in Time of War. — It has become a common practice of nations to conscript soldiers in time of war. As the older men who have accumulated capital are not physically fit for military service, they are left at home to continue at their vocations when prices and interest rates on their savings



INTERNATIONAL BANK AT BASLE, SWITZERLAND

This bank was established to arrange for war payments of Germany to the allied countries. Would it be a good idea for world finances to become international and be transacted at a chain of central banks instead of individual banks for each nation?

are high. It is therefore believed that if the large numbers who know that they will not be drafted for army service knew that their property would be conscripted to pay the costs of the war, their influence would be on the side of peace.¹

Regulate Investments in Backward Countries. — There seems to be a demand for an international bank or an investment agency to accept money for investment from individuals from any country for the purpose of lending it to governments of

¹ Of course war often robs old men of their savings by inflation or the failure of insurance companies.

countries that cannot procure capital at home. These loans should be passed upon by some international body like the Council or Assembly of the League of Nations. The borrowing country should mortgage certain property or taxes, such as customs duties; and if the country defaults, the international governing board should appoint collectors of customs to insure payment of the debt. If the debtor nation offers resistance, the governing board should designate troops of some country to act as police guards for collectors of customs. These guards should be paid from this revenue. In this way backward countries would obtain their money at a low rate of interest and there would be a steady market for conservative investors.

Discourage Over-Population. — Increase in population, perhaps accompanied by shortage of pasture from drought or changes in climatic conditions, sent swarms of Tartars, Huns, Magyars, and Turks from the plains of central Asia into Europe centuries ago. The population of western Europe increased forty-eight millions during the first half of the nineteenth century and sixty-eight millions during the second half. Some nations increased much more rapidly than others. In France, the annual excess of births over deaths per thousand persons from 1860 to 1910 was only about one, whereas in Germany it exceeded ten, and became nearly fifteen the decade before the World War.

The increase of population in over-populated countries might be checked by such methods as the following :

- (1) Legislating in favor of late marriages, as in the United States.
- (2) Encouraging the economic independence of women.
- (3) Segregating morons in institutions.
- (4) Educating the masses as to the evils of over-population by showing how it sends up the price of food and sends down the price of labor.
- (5) Removing the incentive for a larger population to protect the borders of a nation by international co-operative guarantee of protection.

If imperialistic countries encourage increased population, as Italy, Germany, and Japan are doing today, neighboring countries would commit suicide by restricting population alone. But they might improve the quality of their population and thereby strengthen themselves against invasion.

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QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Explain how the philosophy of love promotes peace. Illustrate it by the story of Christ of the Andes.
2. Explain why the world should encourage police protection instead of military aggression.
3. Explain how the development of an international mind promotes peace.
4. Why should we abolish secret diplomacy?
5. How may the creation of mandates be a substitute for war?
6. How do neutral zones promote peace?
7. Explain how the restriction of naval armaments tends to promote peace as well as reduce taxes.
8. What did President Roosevelt consider the best method for America to give aid in the prevention of war?
9. Explain how nations might settle disputes by arbitration.
10. For what five purposes did Mr. Streit propose that the democracies unite?
11. What arguments does Mr. Streit advance for Union Now?
12. Why does tariff reciprocity and the exchange of surplus commodities tend to promote peace?
13. How would conscripting property in time of war tend to promote peace?
14. How could we regulate investments in backward countries for the promotion of peace?

PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Admiral Ronald A. Hopwood, of Great Britain, raises the question whether any one nation has the right to police the seas in time of war or in time of peace, and whether there ought not to be an international police force for such purposes. Would you favor limiting national navies to the smaller craft for home police duty and having an international superior navy for enforcing international laws on the high seas?
2. Pacifists claim that non-resistance is the best policy — that if a nation is just and generous, it will fare better and sustain less injury from its neighbors than if it permanently spends a large percentage of its revenue on militarism and occasionally fights. Why do you agree or disagree with this attitude?
3. How do successful merchants teach their clerks to respond to disagreeable customers? How do telephone companies train telephone operators to reply to quarrelsome patrons? If this non-resistant attitude is found profitable in the business world, would it also be profitable between nations?

4. Some people say that human nature never changes; that men have always fought, hence always will fight. Does America's abolition of the duel answer this sort of pessimism? Or does the fact that the shepherd dog, which was once a wolf and killed sheep, now protects sheep, strengthen your optimism?

5. Some years ago a Quaker woman and a Catholic priest erected a cross to the Prince of Peace on a commanding hill near Riverside, California. Each year Easter is observed by a large assembly at this cross; and after the World War the son of the good Quaker woman who helped erect this cross arranged a second annual celebration at the foot of this cross on November 11. Each year he invited the southern California descendants of one of the allied nations to hear the theme discussed, "What My Country Has Given to the World." In 1927 when Germany entered the League of Nations the Germans were the guests of honor, and "What Germany Has Given to the World" was the theme. Thousands of people assembled and "good will among men" prevailed. Do you know any one thing that has contributed as much towards peace as the Christian religion?

6. What can you suggest to overcome "the youthful desire for adventure" cause of war?

7. The Institute of Pacific Relations is a fact-finding organization financed by the Carnegie and other foundations and by individuals. Meetings are held at Honolulu, and are attended by statesmen, teachers, and publicists. Such problems as immigration, emigration, population, and food supply are discussed. As an American speaker at one of these meetings how would you defend the Oriental immigration restrictions of the United States? Our refusal to have a limitation of naval armament on a basis of parity with Japan?

8. One group of peace advocates in the United States believe that this country should have a hands-off-the-world policy and should forbid the sale of munitions of war to either side when wars develop between foreign nations. They contend that the United States can gain nothing by participating in a war on foreign soil, but can lose a great deal; and that if the rest of the world must fight, with injury to their civilization, then it is America's duty to stay out in order that she may carry on the torch of civilization from the destruction of another war if it should involve Europe or the world.

Another group of peace advocates contend that in the complex and ever-growing-smaller world in which we live it is impossible for us to keep out of a general war if it occurs, and that we should therefore co-operate with other nations in an effort to prevent war by collective security; that is, by developing international law and agreeing to enforce justice against an aggressor. They do not advocate intervening in wars now in progress, but in giving warning that in the future if a

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nation resorts to war instead of peaceful methods for settling disputes they will jointly use force against the aggressor. They believe that a nation would not start a war with the knowledge that the great co-operating nations will join her enemy. They also argue that this collective security policy is a less selfish policy than that proposed by the former group. Tell why you favor the one or the other policy.

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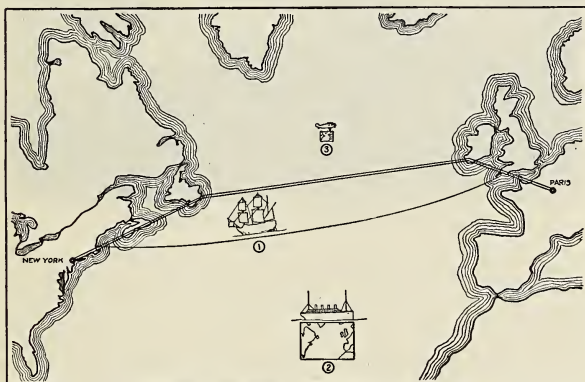
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CHAPTER XXXIV

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

WHY NATIONS NEED TO COOPERATE

Science Makes the World a Neighborhood.—Science has made neighbors of all peoples. In effect, steamships and hydroplanes are drying up oceans, bridges and tubes are displacing rivers, tunnels and airplanes are removing mountains, and the wireless

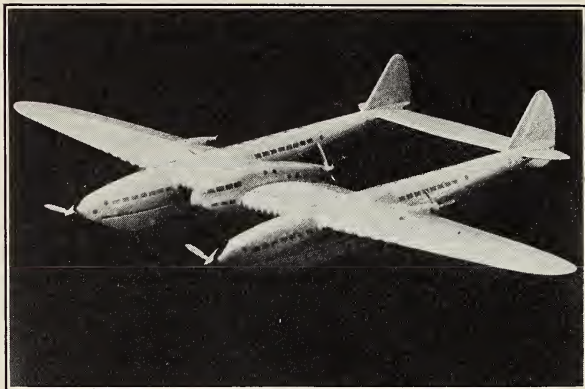


EUROPE BECOMES OUR NEIGHBOR

1. The *Mayflower* crossed the Atlantic in about sixty days.
2. The *Queen Mary* shortened the time to three days, 20 hours, 42 minutes.
3. The "ferry" pilot now flies an American bomber across the North Atlantic in seven or eight hours.

is bringing all nations into speaking distance of one another. Therefore, strangers are becoming neighbors: Americans and Japanese, communists and fascists, dictatorships and democracies.

When the United States would have to ride on its rims without cheap imported rubber, when Germany would have to close factories without the importation of iron, when Italy could not have automobiles or a navy without the importation of coal and oil, and when England would starve without the importation of food, the world is becoming a neighborhood. When one



INTERNATIONAL GOVERNMENT LAGS BEHIND INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATION AND TRANSPORTATION

Plans of the above proposed Sky Yacht were submitted to Pan American Airways along with four other comparable plans. It provides for 120 passengers with state rooms and dining room for 50. Its cruising range is 5000 miles; its maximum speed 300 miles an hour; and its schedule from New York to London would be 14 hours. The lower hull is retracted tight against the main hull when in flight. It can attain 20,000 feet elevation by use of supercharged air pressure. The cost is estimated at \$7,000,000.

country can flood another with radio propaganda, it is like a quarrel over the back fence.

The interdependence of nation upon nation has caused the world to be likened unto a tenement house. The careless use of a match by a neighbor's child endangers the lives and property of all the occupants. In June, 1914, Princip, a son of a Serbian family, exploded a bomb which started a blaze that destroyed lives in twenty-six national families. The present-day inter-

national tenement house contains more explosives than in 1914 and therefore needs more international regulation.

WITH EACH ADVANCE IN THE SIZE OF GOVERNMENTAL UNITS PEACE HAS RESULTED IN THE ENLARGED AREA

In primitive times thousands of tribal states existed in the world, and at the end of the Middle Ages there were hundreds in Europe alone, but today practically all the world is embraced in about half a hundred states.

Our thirteen original states voluntarily formed the United States of America, the Swiss cantons formed the Swiss Federation, the Canadian provinces merged into the Dominion of Canada, the states of Australia united to form Australia, and the divisions of South Africa became the South African Union. In the middle of the nineteenth century the numerous small states of the Italian peninsula became the modern Italy; and Germany has evolved by various methods from more than two hundred political units into the great Germany of today. Within these enlarged areas internal peace is the rule.

TRENDS TOWARD CONTINENTAL UNITY

Regional Solidarity. — Individual states, as now constituted, are yet too small to enjoy the variety of products that regions can produce; and the population of small populous states is out of proportion to their needs. To correct this inequality of resources we need a world-state; but we don't want this formed by a dictator for the selfish exploitation of his state. The great powers are, however, endeavoring to dominate or to lead the weaker states of their regions.

The Americas. — Because of the danger of a German-dominated Europe forbidding trade with countries outside of Europe except on their barter basis, the United States Government invited the Pan-American Governments to meet in Havana in July, 1940, to consider means of meeting this threatened trade control which would be to the advantage of the organized states

of Europe and to the disadvantage of disorganized American states competing with one another.

To compete with a German-dominated army and navy, the United States through the Pan American Union is endeavoring to make the Monroe Doctrine an All-American doctrine instead of a United States of North America doctrine.

Results of Regional Solidarity if Attained. — If the trend towards regional solidarity materializes it may eliminate tariff walls for the states embraced within a regional grouping and may bring about a better distribution of resources within the free (or freer) trade region. This should remove one of the basic causes of wars. But should wars develop between regions they would be catastrophies indeed.

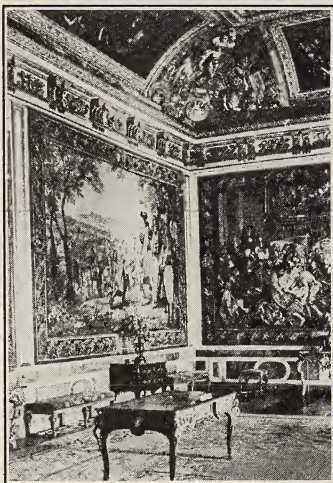


TABLE ON WHICH THE VERSAILLES
TREATY WAS SIGNED

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The Origin of the League. — At the end of World War I, widows, orphans, crutches, and graveyards all pleaded for an organization which would help prevent a

repetition of the great catastrophe. Among the statesmen who championed this demand Woodrow Wilson was leader.

The Covenant of the League was made to constitute Part I of the treaties of peace. The League of Nations formally came into being by the official deposit of the ratifications of the Treaty of Versailles at the French Foreign Office, at Paris, January 10, 1920. By that deposit fourteen of the Powers that had been allied against Germany became the first members

of the League, and within two months there were forty-two members.

The United States Senate refused to ratify the Treaty of Versailles, and later the President and Senate made a separate peace with Germany. Therefore, the United States did not become a member of the League of Nations.¹



MEMORIAL TO WOODROW WILSON

This plaque was placed upon the wall surrounding the first headquarters of the League of Nations by the City of Geneva.

The Covenant provided that the seat of the League should be Geneva,² and that the first meetings of the Council and of the Assembly should be called by the President of the United States. Woodrow Wilson, the Father of the League, performed

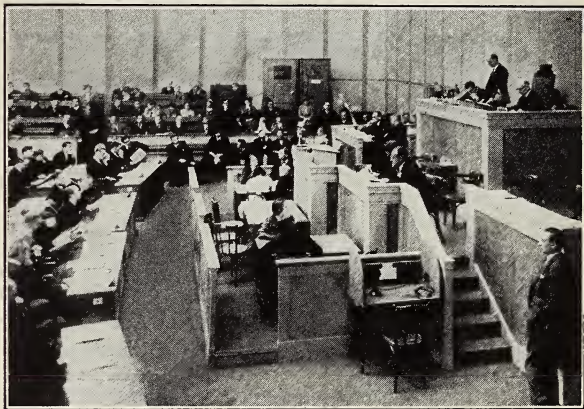
¹ George Washington's advice against entangling alliances with European nations and a century-long habit of isolation caused some to hesitate; a sacrifice of independence was argued; German-Americans viewed it as an association of Allies to enforce an oppressive treaty upon Germany; the Irish-Americans feared that it would interfere with Ireland's gaining its independence; and finally it became a political issue and the Republicans who opposed it won the election. A majority of the Senate voted to ratify the Versailles Treaty containing the League Covenant, but not by the two-thirds vote necessary for ratifying a treaty.

² The Council could at any time decide that the seat of the League should be elsewhere.

this duty, and the first Council convened at Paris in February, 1920, and the first Assembly at Geneva in November, 1920.

Membership. — Any fully self-governing state, dominion, or colony could become a member of the League if its admission was agreed to by two thirds of the Assembly. All the great powers joined the League at once except the United States, which rejected it, and Germany and Russia, which were not invited to join. Germany and Russia subsequently joined, and the membership reached sixty. Many states later withdrew from the League, including Japan, Germany, and Italy; and Russia was expelled for invading Finland.

A member could withdraw from the League by giving two years' notice and fulfilling all its obligations (such as paying dues) up to the time of withdrawal.



LEAGUE OF NATIONS ASSEMBLY

The Assembly. — The principal organs of the League were the Assembly, the Council, and the Secretariat. The membership of the Assembly was composed of representatives from all members of the League. Each member could choose one, two, or three representatives in any manner it saw fit.

Jurisdiction. — The Assembly performed the following duties:

Determined the budget.

Elected non-permanent members of the Council.

Elected the judges of the Court in concurrence with the Council.

Admitted new members.

Passed on the recommendations of the Council.

Heard disputes between members referred to it for inquiry.

Dealt with any matter affecting the peace of the world, *but could not take important action except with unanimous consent of the members.*

Voting. — Each member (not each representative) had one vote, and all actions of the Assembly required a unanimous vote of all members present and voting, with the exception of matters of procedure which include:

Appointment of committees (majority).

Amendment of the Covenant (by Council and majority of Assembly).

Amendment of the rules (majority).

Admission of new members (two thirds).

Election of judges (majority of Assembly and majority of Council).

This unanimous consent rule greatly handicapped the effectiveness of the League; but the great powers were unwilling to make it possible for a majority of small nations to enact laws which the great powers might find burdensome to enforce.

Meetings. — The Assembly met annually at Geneva on the first Monday in September, but could meet at any time when occasion demanded. The meetings were public except when individuals were discussed.

The Council. — The Council consisted of representatives of fourteen members of the League: the British Empire, France, Russia — permanent members; eleven other states — three or four elected annually by the Assembly for a term of three years. Each of these chose its representative in the Council in any manner it saw fit.

Jurisdiction. — The Council performed duties including the following:

Drafted the League's budget for the approval of the Assembly.

Appointed all commissions.

Approved the terms of mandates.

Could request members to furnish armed forces.

Heard international disputes referred to it for inquiry.

Considered any matters affecting the peace of the world.

Voting. — Any important action required the unanimous consent of all members present and voting.

Meetings. — The Covenant of the League required the Council to meet at least once a year, but it never met less than four times a year.

The Secretariat. — *Organization.* — The Secretariat consisted of a staff of about five hundred persons who did the secretarial work of the League. They came from almost as many countries as there were members of the League. The Secretary-General was appointed by the Council with the approval of the Assembly. Sir Eric Drummond of England held this position from the founding of the League (1920) until 1933, when he resigned and was replaced by Joseph Avenol of France.

Duties. — The Secretariat performed such duties as the following:

Investigated questions to be taken up by the Council or by the Assembly.

Translated speeches and documents into the official languages — French and English.

Translated, printed, and circulated documents, reports, and resolutions.

Registered and published treaties.

Distributed accurate League information to the public.

Acted as a fact-finding agency and as a clearing house.

Amendments to the Covenant took effect when ratified by the members of the League whose representatives composed the Council and by a majority of the members of the League whose representatives composed the Assembly. An amendment did not bind a member which certified its dissent therefrom, but in that case such state ceased to be a member of the League.

PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES

The World Court, called the Permanent Court of International Justice, was created by the League in 1920. It has settled a number of disputes between nations, and upon request has

given advisory opinions to the Council and the Assembly of the League. (It has not been in session since Germany occupied The Hague.)

Disputes Submitted to Arbitration or Inquiry. — The members of the League agreed that if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to rupture, they would submit it to:

The Permanent Court or	Decision within reasonable time	Parties to abide by decision
Some tribunal agreed upon by the parties or	Award within reasonable time	Parties to abide by award
Inquiry by the Council or	Report within six months	Parties to abide by unanimous decision of the Council ¹
Inquiry by the Assembly	Report within six months	Parties to abide by unanimous decision of delegates from countries represented on Council and majority of others. ¹

If the Council was not unanimous in its decision, or if the Assembly did not have the required vote, the parties were not bound to abstain from war.

Wars Prevented by the League. — The following controversies would very likely have resulted in war had not the League intervened:

- Between Sweden and Finland over the Aaland Islands.
- Between Poland and Lithuania over the Vilna District.
- Between Germany and Poland over Silesia.
- Between Albania and Yugoslavia over Albanian boundaries.
- Between Rumania-Yugoslavia-Greece and Bulgaria over Bulgarian refugees.
- Between Italy and Greece over the murder of Italian officers.

Space forbids an account of all these controversies, hence only the first and last will be treated.

¹ The votes of members of the Council or of the Assembly who represent parties to the dispute were not considered.

The Aaland Islands, located midway between Finland and Sweden, were claimed by both countries. They were claimed by Finland because for more than a hundred years they had been part of the Russian Duchy of Finland, and by Sweden because their population is overwhelmingly Swedish. In 1920, when war was threatening over the ownership of these islands, Great Britain brought the matter to the attention of the Council of the League of Nations. (See Covenant, Article 11.) The Council promptly appointed a commission of inquiry, consisting of a Belgian, a Swiss, and an American, "to proceed to the spot, obtain evidence, and submit a report."

After a thorough investigation, the commission decided that the sovereignty over the Aaland Islands belonged to Finland. The Council accepted the report, and the contending nations freely abided by it. To allay future friction it was provided that the Swedish language should be taught in the schools, and other Swedish institutions preserved. The leading European powers signed a treaty providing for the non-fortification and neutralization of the islands.

The Corfu Incident. — In 1923 Italian members of the international commission determining the boundary between Albania and Greece were assassinated on Greek territory. As the tension between the Greek and Italian governments was already strained, Premier Mussolini, sensitive as to national pride and prestige, sent an ultimatum to Greece startlingly akin to that 1914 ultimatum sent to Serbia by Austria-Hungary, which resulted in a world war. The Italian army seized the Greek island of Corfu after a bombardment in which twenty Greek refugee orphans were killed. Presumably Mussolini intended to hold Corfu permanently because the Italians emphasized the fact that the island once belonged to Italy.

Greece appealed to the League of Nations. Mussolini threatened, in a newspaper report, to withdraw from the League should it not yield to his wishes. But the Assembly of the League of Nations was in session, and representatives of small nations did not hesitate to condemn Italy vigorously. Thus the League was able to focus public opinion on Italy. Corfu

was Belgium over again; Mussolini was a new Kaiser, and small nations could not be safe if Article 10 of the Covenant could thus be trampled upon with impunity.

Mussolini saw that in the face of such world disapproval his position was untenable. As he had publicly announced that he would not allow the League to consider this matter, the best way to save his face was to allow some one else to decide the dispute. So he suggested the Council of Ambassadors. Technically he was right, because the League is supposed to begin where diplomacy ends; and the Council of Ambassadors had been in charge of the boundary dispute from the start, and the slain men were its employees.

The Council of Ambassadors agreed to act, and it proposed a plan of settlement suggested to it through the Secretariat of the League. Mussolini accepted the plan, though it did not harmonize with his original ultimatum. Italy was awarded 50,000,000 Italian lira, of which she returned 10,000,000 for the relief of refugees in consideration of the orphans she had killed.

Thus the Council of Ambassadors acted as a go-between for the League and Mussolini. In a sense Mussolini defied the League; but instead of making his defiance an issue and using military or economic pressure against Italy, the Council of the League sacrificed its pride, but accomplished its end. Corfu was restored to Greece and war was averted. Had there been no League of Nations, what would have happened? In 1914 when Austria-Hungary sent the ultimatum to Serbia there was no organization to act promptly, and Sir Edward Grey was unable to organize a conference. The catastrophe in which 10,000,000 sacrificed their lives, and millions more were maimed, began without a single conference.

Coercion if Rules of Peaceful Settlement Were Violated. — The members of the League agreed to sever financial, commercial, and personal intercourse with any member that resorted to war in disregard of the agreements for peaceful settlement of disputes.

The Council recommended to members of the League what military, naval, or air force they should contribute to enforce

the agreements. And the members agreed to allow these forces passage through their territory. The members also promised mutual support to one another in order to minimize the loss and inconvenience to the members upon whom the burden of the coercion might fall.

A member of the League could be expelled by a unanimous vote of the Council, exclusive of the Council member from the offending state, if it violated any League agreement.

Difficulty of Enforcement. — Although the machinery of the League (for the pacific settlement of disputes) was carefully worked out, recent events show that it was very difficult to halt a powerful nation if it chose to violate the Covenant. Both Japan and Italy successfully waged imperialistic campaigns — Japan in taking Manchoukuo, and Italy in conquering Ethiopia. The League of Nations condemned the action of Japan in China in 1932; sent a commission to the Far East to make a report of actual conditions; urgently requested Japan to cease hostilities in Chinese territory; and even received the moral support of the United States for its activities. But the only answer from Japan was a “walk-out” on the League of Nations’ report, and the organizing of an independent government for the territory taken from China — later formally recognized by Japan as the independent state of Manchoukuo.

Likewise Italy, after having successfully promoted Ethiopia for membership in the League of Nations in 1923, began her conquest of the little nation in December of 1934. Throughout 1935 the League, under the leadership of Great Britain, struggled with this problem. Italy was censured, economic sanctions were voted by the Assembly of the League of Nations, and it is surprising how many nations applied these sanctions in good faith. The United States, however, along with several other nations, supplied Italy with petroleum — her most urgent need; the threat of Germany made France unwilling to risk a war with Italy; and the threat of Japan in the Orient deterred Great Britain from risking a war for the League. So Italy defied the League, threatened to withdraw, and continued her war on Ethiopia. In May of 1936 Mussolini announced to a

cheering crowd in Rome that "Ethiopia is Italy's." Thus the world received its second report of the failure of the League to cope with disputes when a major power did not care to co-operate. In 1937 Italy announced her withdrawal from the League.

OTHER PEACE-PROMOTING FUNCTIONS

Registration of Treaties. — Article 18 of the Covenant provided that every treaty or other international engagement entered into by a member of the League should be registered with the Secretariat, and that it should not be binding until it was registered. Texts of the treaties were then published in the language of negotiation, in French, and in English. The treaties were collected and published in the *Treaty Series* and thus made available to all the world.

Protection of Minorities. — President Wilson, in his fourteen points, urged the protection of racial, linguistic, and religious minorities; and while he was at the Versailles Peace Conference, he fought for the creation of new states with boundaries coinciding with racial groups. In this effort he met with only moderate success. However, at the Peace Conference special treaties were concluded with the new states and those whose territories had been increased as a result of the war, providing for equal treatment for all the nationals of the state. These treaties included guaranties of the maintenance of their language and the exercise of their religion. Clauses corresponding to those in the special treaties were also inserted in several of the treaties of peace.

The Council of the League was responsible for the enforcement of these minority provisions. Naturally, members of the Council were reluctant to press the observance of the minority agreements against a friendly nation. But the Council could more easily submit a report to the Assembly where it was debated freely and given considerable publicity; and there was a minorities section of the Secretariat which, without embarrassment, appealed to governments to redress the grievances of minorities.

Greco-Bulgarian Emigration Commission. — In fulfillment of Article 56 of the treaty of peace with Bulgaria at the end of the World War, Bulgaria and Greece agreed to regulate the reciprocal and voluntary emigration of racial, linguistic, and religious minorities between Bulgaria and Greece. The mixed commission of four members was agreed upon. One was appointed by the Bulgarian government, one by the Greek government, and two by the Council of the League of Nations. This commission received funds from Bulgaria and Greece to facilitate migration between the states. It advanced to emigrants the value of their real estate and was responsible for the disposal of this property.

Greco-Turkish Emigration Commission. — In January, 1923, Greece and Turkey signed an agreement at Lausanne providing for the obligatory exchange of Turkish nationals of Greek orthodox religion on Turkish territory and of Greek nationals of Mohammedan religion on Greek territory except western Thrace. This agreement was administered by a mixed commission like the Greco-Bulgarian Commission.

PROVISIONS FOR HUMANITY AND JUSTICE

The International Labor Organization. — *Origin and Purpose.* — In the Versailles Treaty and other World War treaties of peace, provision was made for this organization; and in Article 23 of the Covenant of the League the members agreed to endeavor to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labor for men, women, and children, and to maintain the necessary organizations for that purpose.

Membership. — All members of the League were members of the International Labor Organization. Others could join. For instance, the United States became a member of this organization in 1934 but not of the League.

General Conference. — The International Labor Organization consisted of a General Conference of representatives from the member states and an International Labor Office under the control of the Governing Body. The General Conference con-

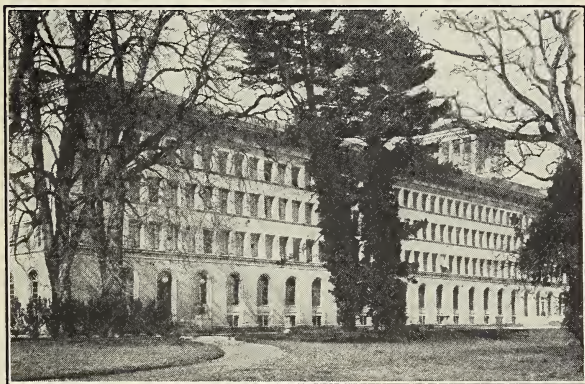
vened at least once a year. It was composed of four representatives from each state: two representing the government, one the employers, and one the workers. The Conference agreed upon certain conventions for the improvement of labor conditions, but a convention was not binding upon any of the members except those that ratified it. Conventions were submitted, and ratified by some of the states, for such purposes as the following:

Limiting the hours of work to eight a day and forty-eight a week.

Limiting the employment of women at night.

Fixing the minimum age of children in industrial employments.

Concerning the use of white lead in painting.



Galloway

NEW BUILDING OCCUPIED BY THE LABOR BUREAU OF THE
LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The Conferences also made recommendations to the governments concerning unemployment, the use of white phosphorus in the manufacture of matches, the protection of working mothers, etc.

The International Labor Office was independent of the Secretariat of the League in respect to policy and administration, and was housed in a separate building; but it was supported by the League. The Labor Office had a director, deputy-director,

and staff of about 350 persons representing many nationalities. It collected and distributed information on all subjects relating to the international adjustment of conditions of industrial life and labor. It edited and published such periodicals and reports as the following:

International Labor Review — monthly.

Industrial and Labor Information — weekly.

Legislative Series — publication of labor laws of all countries.

Special Reports — labor conditions in Russia, for example.

International Labor Directory — an annual reference volume.

Documents of the International Labor Conferences.

The Governing Body consisted of twenty-four members who served for three years. Six of these were elected by the delegates to the Conference representing workers, six by delegates representing employers, and twelve members represent governments.

Health Organization. — Under modern methods of travel, disease knows no boundaries and respects no flags. It is a common enemy of mankind which can be conquered only by united action. Therefore, safeguarding health was a peculiarly fitting task for the League.

Spread of Typhus Fever Checked. — The Epidemic Commission of the League promoted an international epidemics conference in Warsaw in 1920, and with \$1,000,000 contributed by governments it successfully checked the spread of typhus fever.

Information Regarding Epidemics Collected. — The Health Section of the Secretariat maintained a world telegraphic intelligence service to collect information regarding epidemics of Asiatic cholera, typhus, smallpox, anthrax, and other diseases. This information was summarized in the weekly, monthly, and annual Epidemiological Report. Towards this service the Rockefeller Foundation made substantial money grants.

Interchange of Health Specialists. — Another health service of the League was the interchange of public health administrators. For instance, health specialists and health officers from eastern Europe were brought to western Europe and the United States for observation and instruction in the most recent health methods.

Standardization of Sera. — It was observed that sera were made by different processes in different countries. For instance, one unit of German tetanus antitoxin corresponded to 67 Ameri-



Courtesy American Red Cross

JUNIOR RED CROSS

This large youth organization is also international in its scope with societies in 62 nations besides America. The society is designed to develop better citizens, both from an intellectual and a health standpoint.

can and 2500 French units. Dosage is commonly beneficial in a given strength or quantity and harmful when a very slight change is made. To establish international standards that would insure uniformity in sera, the Health Committee convened a conference at London. Here a scheme of co-ordinated investigation of the problems involved was agreed upon by the members of the Committee. The investigation was centralized in the Copenhagen Institute.

MANDATE PRINCIPLE APPLIED TO FORMER GERMAN COLONIES

Mandates. — President Wilson's Fourteen Points announced in 1918 prevented the distribution of conquered colonies as the Allied Powers had agreed by secret treaties to distribute them. The emancipation of these colonies was unthinkable. It would merely have meant misrule or future annexation by

stronger powers. Collective administration of undeveloped colonies was not successful because no one of the powers was willing to contribute the effort and capital necessary to make administration a success. Therefore, General Smuts' suggestion of the trusteeship or mandate principle was accepted. The conquered colonies were assigned to the Allies by the treaties of peace. Then each mandatory prepared a constitution for each mandated territory in accordance with the provisions laid down in the Covenant, but subject to the approval of the Council of the League. Mandates were of three classes:

"A" Mandates, formerly parts of the Turkish Empire, were subject to administrative advice and assistance by a mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone.

Palestine mandated to Great Britain.

Syria and Lebanon mandated to France.

Mesopotamia (Iraq) ¹ mandated to Great Britain.

"B" Mandates of Central Africa where the mandatory should administer in such a way as to guarantee freedom of conscience and religion; to prohibit such abuses as slave trade, arms traffic, and liquor traffic; to prevent the establishment of military or naval bases or fortifications, or the military training of natives except for purposes of defense; and also to secure equal opportunities of trade for other members of the League.

Cameroons mandated to France and to Great Britain.

East Africa mandated to Great Britain and to Belgium.

Togoland mandated to France and to Great Britain.

"C" Mandates in Southwest Africa and South Pacific Islands where the mandatory could administer them under its own laws as a part of its territory, subject to the safeguards above mentioned in the interests of the indigenous population.

Southwest Africa mandated to the Union of South Africa.

Samoa mandated to New Zealand.

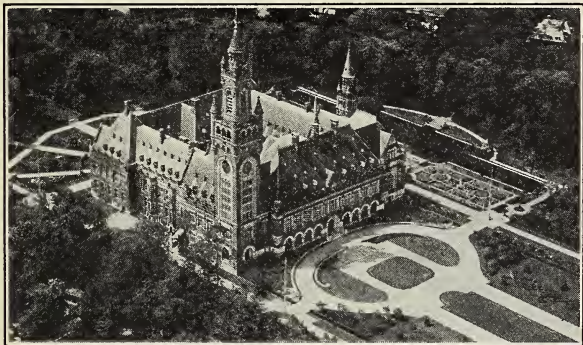
Nauru mandated to Great Britain and Australia.

Former German Pacific Islands south of the equator mandated to Australia.

Former German Pacific Islands north of the equator mandated to Japan.

¹ Because of the establishment late in 1921 of the Arab national government of Iraq under Prince Feisal, a treaty was signed, on Oct. 10, 1922, between the British and Iraq governments, which granted the Arabs a considerable degree of self-government; and in 1932 Iraq became independent.

Mandates Commission. — The Council of the League provided a Mandates Commission of nine members, the majority of whom were required to be nationals of non-mandatories. They were chosen by the Council. This Commission had prepared an elaborate questionnaire to be answered annually by the administrator of each mandated territory. This annual report was considered by the Commission in the presence of a



Courtesy Royal Dutch Air Lines

AIR VIEW OF THE PEACE PALACE AT THE HAGUE, HOLLAND

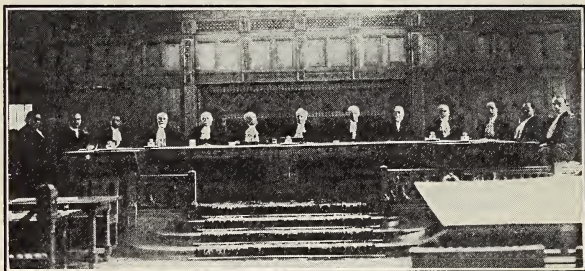
representative of the mandatory, whom it questioned concerning the administration of the territory. The Commission prepared a written report of its observations for the Council and the Assembly — of course with a diplomatic pen. If a mandatory was under censure for bad administration, the facts were given publicity by these bodies, and the weight of public opinion was laid upon the mandatory.

THE WORLD COURT

Origin of the Permanent Court of International Justice. — Article 14 of the League of Nations Covenant provides for the establishment of a court. In fulfillment of this provision the Council appointed an advisory committee of jurists to formulate a scheme of organization. Among the distinguished persons on

this committee was Elihu Root, former Secretary of State of the United States. The committee drafted a statute which the Council examined and submitted to the governments of the members of the League. The Council again studied the statute and submitted it to the Assembly, which in December, 1920, unanimously approved a resolution submitting it, as a Protocol (treaty), to the members of the League. As soon as the Protocol was ratified by a majority of the members of the League, the judges were to be elected. The necessary ratifications were promptly obtained, and in 1921 the judges were elected.

The Judges. — Originally eleven judges and four deputy-judges constituted the Court. In 1930 the number of judges was increased to fifteen. They were elected by a majority vote of the



THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE IN SESSION

Council and Assembly, acting separately, from a list of jurists submitted by the member states. Only one judge could be elected from one country, and if no sitting judge was a national of a country having a contest in the Court that country could choose a judge to sit in the Court during its case on an equal footing with the other judges. The judges were chosen for the term of nine years and could be re-elected. The annual salary and allowances totaled about \$10,000, with an extra allowance for the President of the Court. The salaries and other expenses of the Court, such as clerks, printing, and upkeep of the Palace of Justice, were borne by the League of Nations. The Council

annually prepared the budget for the Court and the Assembly approved it.

The Jurisdiction of the Court was fourfold in character :

1. Compulsory among certain states in legal disputes concerning
 - (a) The interpretation of a treaty.
 - (b) Any question of international law.
 - (c) The existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of international obligation.
 - (d) The nature or extent of the reparation to be made for the breach of an international obligation.
2. Voluntary between states in any dispute.
3. By special agreement between states to submit certain or all disputes.
4. Advisory opinions upon request of the League Council or Assembly.

The Court and the United States. — A state could join the Court without becoming a member of the League of Nations. The establishment of a world court has been the traditional policy of the United States. At the Hague Conference of 1899 Secretary Hay instructed our delegates to favor such a court. At the Hague Conference of 1907 Secretary Root gave express instructions to our delegates to do all in their power to promote the establishment of such a tribunal. The American Bar Association voted in favor of membership in this Permanent Court of International Justice; and March 3, 1925, our House of Representatives passed a resolution favoring membership with reservations, by a vote of 303 to 28. In 1935, 52 senators voted for and 36 against. As 52 was seven less than the necessary two thirds, the United States did not become a member of this World Court. Every President since Wilson has favored the Court.

THE COST OF THE LEAGUE

The Cost of the League was borne by all the members. The proportion that each should pay was determined by the Assembly of the League. The annual costs of the League were divided into 1000 units. About a dozen of the smallest nations were apportioned one unit each, which was about \$6500. France

paid 79 units, and Great Britain 105 units, exclusive of her dominions which were assigned separate apportionments. The annual costs of the League never exceeded \$10,000,000, and they were usually about \$6,000,000 — less than $\frac{1}{2000}$ of the peacetime cost of armaments. Instead of thinking of the League of Nations as a failure we should see the humor in expecting peace from a total expenditure in 21 years of \$130,000,000 when the United States spends more than that *daily* on war.

Also in appraising the value of the League we should not allow its one function of promoting peace to overshadow its successful contributions in the field of human welfare.

IS THE LEAGUE DEAD?

Can the League Be Re-formed? — After the French were overwhelmed in 1940 the main support of the League was gone, and the Secretary General asked for the resignation of practically all of the employees of the Secretariat. A skeleton staff was retained; and the University of Toronto and Princeton University gave shelter to limited League activities.

The need of international cooperation was never greater, and it is hoped that the new powers that be may create some organization to take the place of the League. If this happens the organization will be very different from the "League of Nations." It will probably be an organization with strong military teeth. Such an organization might promote international trade, so that the over-populated countries could buy foods and raw materials in abundance. If all of the countries would agree to buy as much as they could sell through an international clearing house the new organization might act as this clearing house. For example, the United States might agree to buy through a national purchasing board twice as much or four times as much as it now buys on condition that the other states through an international organization will buy an equal amount of its products.¹

¹ Would such an exchange of commodities flood the United States with foreign products and deprive American laborers of work? Not if we should

The Permanent Court of International Justice and the International Labor Organization were created by the League and they were supported by the League, but a state could be a member of either of these organizations without being a member of the League. For that reason it is possible that either of these organizations may continue to exist independently of a League if support can be found.

QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. Explain why nations need to cooperate.
2. Explain the trend towards regional solidarity in the Americas.
3. Explain the organization of the League of Nations: (1) Assembly, (2) Council, and (3) Secretariat.
4. How was the Covenant of the League amended?
5. Explain how certain wars were prevented by the League of Nations.
6. Explain what coercive measures the members of the League were supposed to use, and how they failed when resorted to against Italy.
7. Explain how the League assisted minority groups to re-establish themselves in their native lands.
8. Explain the purpose of the International Labor Organization.
9. How did the League promote health?
10. Explain the system of Mandates as applied to the colonies lost by Germany and Turkey as a result of the first World War.
11. Explain the inadequate support of the League.
12. What caused the League to fail in its efforts to preserve peace when great powers became aggressors?

consume an additional amount equal to the increased imports. To do this it might be necessary for our Government to build more two-way roads, more houses for the millions who could never wholly finance them for themselves, more laboratories, more hospitals, and more rapid transportation systems than would otherwise be constructed. By so doing we should increase work — both by giving work to those who produce our increased exports, and to those who would put together the imported structural materials.

Would this increased exchange of commodities necessitate more governmental activities? Yes, it would; but so do great armaments and wars increase the activities of the government — and with profit to nobody. If we increase our foreign trade by furnishing other nations what our farmers would plow under or are induced not to produce and accept materials of value we become a wealthier nation. War results in debts and death: foreign trade in wealth and a more abundant life.

PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION

1. A Greek philosopher said that a state should not be larger than the human voice can reach — probably meaning that the leader should be able to explain his policies to all his citizens. According to this standard how large could a state be today?

2. Today can a leader's voice be carried to people of different languages? Explain.

3. In the contented state of Switzerland three languages are spoken, in Canada English and French, in Mexico Spanish and various Indian dialects, and in Russia there are 122 languages and dialects. Are the governments of these countries as successful as those of the average state?

4. "In the long evolution of the human race there is traceable a constant enlargement of the areas in which peace has been firmly established." Elaborate upon this quotation.

5. Is the United States strong enough to protect its possessions or even itself against a United Europe, a Japanese-dominated Orient, a combination of Germany and Italy, or a combination of Germany, Italy, and Japan? If not, should it depend merely upon arms? Upon justice and a good morale at home? Upon a Pan American Union? Through international justice and good will, a World Federation, or through a combination of these?

6. Do you think the United States should agree to settle all of its international disputes in an international tribunal?

7. When the Greek army invaded Bulgaria in 1925, the Council of the League hastily met and compelled the Greeks to withdraw within 48 hours. The Council appointed a special commission to investigate, and a fine and damages were imposed upon Greece and paid to the amount of \$219,000. Do you think the United States should have joined the League of Nations to assist in performing such valuable services to the world?

8. Do you agree with the following statement? "High smokestacks, huge castings, and rapidly turning wheels are not the proper measure of the progress of civilization."

9. The League of Nations failed because the United States was not a member, because it had no taxing power and lacked revenue, because it was without power to legislate except with unanimous consent, and because it had no army or police to enforce its purposes. Could these defects of the weak League be corrected by a strong Federation?

10. If a world federation is formed should international universities, manned with professors who believe in the federation, give free graduate training to say 10,000 high "I.Q." college graduates who, if successful, would be appointed federation government administrators or army officers?

11. Many countries are over-populated. Yet there is much uncultivated land in Africa, South America, and Canada. Would you favor a plan of international cooperation to settle people who wanted to move into these sparsely settled sections of the world? If such cooperation could be achieved, the governments of the world would have to help in this huge settlement project by supplying technical advice on colonization, and the necessary materials to begin settlement. Should there be a World Federation to perform such functions?

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CHAPTER XXXV

A PROPOSED INTERNATIONAL UNION OF NATIONS

"If we deny to a nation the use of war, its only present means of securing justice for itself, we must provide a substitute for war which can satisfactorily assure justice for that nation."

Clyde Eagleton

Cooperation Essential to Abundance. — We can have immense costly armies and frequent world wars or we can have the comforts of life, but we can't have both. It was once said when Germany was preparing for war that every taxpaying German carried a soldier on his back; and Hitler urged the production of guns rather than of butter.

When we win this war we may do one of three things:

1. Demobilize our armies and settle down to a few years of peace, and again be unprepared when the next aggressive nation challenges us.

2. Support millions of soldiers equipped with expensive ever-changing weapons of war. This would mean that every producer would have to carry a soldier or a war-industry worker on his back in addition to high taxes to pay the debt resulting from this war.

3. Agree to set up an international police force strong enough to prevent the building of any new aggressive armies. For each country to attempt to support an army large enough to protect itself against all possible aggressors is as unwise as it would be for each householder to station a member of the family on guard each night instead of cooperatively employing a few city police.

When we defeat Germany and Japan and Italy, and disarm them, our Government, the British Cabinet, Stalin, and Chiang Kai-shek will be able to determine world policy — if they have

been able to agree upon it. Should they mutually agree to restrict the size of their armies and to establish an international police force, it would be to the interest of the smaller countries to cooperate with this plan of restricted armies and to help support such a force.

A World Peace Can Best Be Planned Before a World War Ends. — A great fallacy today is the belief that "First we should win the war; then we can think about the peace." Unless the two problems are handled together we are likely to win the war but lose the peace, for the following reasons:

1. If we wait until each of the United Nations develops its public opinion for a different peace plan, when the peace conference is held the resulting peace is likely to be a hodgepodge of compromises. But if the leading statesmen of the influential nations agree upon a constructive peace in advance, public opinion can be shaped to support it.

2. If a just constructive plan of peace is agreed upon during the war, our own soldiers will more definitely know that they are fighting for something worth the sacrifice, and will put forth their best effort.

3. We can weaken the efforts of the enemy by offering their soldiers something more promising than that for which they have been fighting.

United Action Necessary for an Enduring Peace. — One nation can make a war, but it takes two to make a peace; and the united action of a number of nations is necessary for an enduring peace. Most nations prefer peace to war; but one



Bishop in the St. Louis Star-Times

BOTH PILLARS ARE NEEDED

622 A Proposed International Union of Nations

man like Hitler can create a world war unless the nations organize to stop an aggressor before he becomes stronger than they are. In union there is strength, and strength should be on the side of those who preserve the peace.

SUGGESTED ORGANIZATION

How the Nations May Create an International Union. — An unusual opportunity exists today for launching an international union. Among the thirty-odd United Nations, the big four are the United States, the British Commonwealth of Nations, Russia, and China. They might draw up a constitution for an international union of nations and become the initial members. When the war is won these four powers could compel Germany, Italy, and Japan to become members. All other independent countries could be invited to join by accepting the constitution, including an agreement not to maintain a force larger than the quota of men and military equipment allotted to it.

The Governing Council of the Union might consist of the following members chosen as follows :

- 1 by the Government of the United States as determined by Congress ;
- 1 by the British Commonwealth of Nations as determined by an Imperial Conference ;
- 1 by Russia as determined by its Government ;
- 1 by China as determined by its Government ;
- 1 by the Presidents of the Latin-American countries that are members of the Union ;
- 1 by the chief executives of the Latin countries of Europe that are members of the Union ;
- 1 by the chief executives of the Nordic countries of Europe that join the Union ;
- 1 by the chief executives of the Slavic countries of Europe that join the Union ;
- 1 by the chief executives of the Mohammedan countries ;
- 1 by Japan when the Governing Council considers the country trustworthy ;

- 1 by Germany when the Governing Council considers the country trustworthy; and
- 1 by India when it becomes self-governing.

The President of the Union may be chosen by the Governing Council either from its membership or outside its membership. If chosen from outside the membership, the President should have a vote only in case of a tie.

The President should call special meetings and should preside at all meetings if he is a member of the Governing Council. If the union has an international police force, the President could be its commander-in-chief.

An International Court should be organized to interpret the constitution of the union, and to settle legal controversies between member countries. The Permanent Court of International Justice, established by the League of Nations, could be revived.

Each nation or group of nations assigned a member of the Governing Council might choose one of the judges, or the Governing Council itself might elect the judges, provided that no country has more than one judge, and that no one continent has a disproportionate number.

INTERNATIONAL POLICE FORCE

Military Situation at the End of the War. — If at the end of the war the United Nations disarm the Axis powers, there will remain great military establishments in only four countries: the United States, Russia, China, and the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Limitation of Armaments. — If these four great military powers should agree to limit their military and naval establishments to, let us say 500,000 men each, or twice that of any other power, we would be relatively as safe as though each maintained an army of 5,000,000. Also the other countries would have little incentive to build great armies to menace us if we automatically increased ours to twice the size of theirs.

As soon as Germany, Italy, and Japan set up Governments

that the Governing Council are willing to trust we could withdraw our troops from these countries and assign them police forces large enough to police their countries, but for the time

being with no weapons more powerful than machine guns.



Harper in the Birmingham Age-Herald

"THE MAN WHO CAME TO DINNER"

countries where armaments could be produced, and to report violations to the Governing Council.

The Commander-in-Chief of the International Police Force could be the President of the Union, who would command such forces of the member countries as are called by the Governing Council when an international agreement is violated.

For instance, if the Council should decide that Germany is arming beyond the agreed limits it could direct the Commander-in-Chief to send a sufficient number of divisions of the police force into Germany to stop the arming before it becomes serious.

Should There Be a Mobile Police Force? — To protect the high seas against pirates and to police places of strategic importance there should probably be an international police force directly responsible to the Governing Council. This might be composed of divisions voluntarily enlisted from the smaller countries. These men should be carefully chosen for ability, character, and loyalty to the Union, should be well paid, and should be pensioned for loyal service.

This force should have the best armored divisions of the latest tanks, the best submarines and other vessels, and the last word in aircraft, including transports for rapid movements.

It would be a sort of super marine force. When not on task duty it should be stationed on islands owned by the Union. Or if the countries could agree, it would be still better if it were stationed at strategic places like Heligoland, Gibraltar, the Suez Canal, the Panama Canal, Hong Kong, and Singapore — but always ready to move at a moment's notice.

OTHER PROPOSED POWERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL UNION

Provision for Gradual Growth. — In the beginning the Union need not have any powers except to limit armaments, to enforce this limitation, to forbid wars between

members of the Union, and to protect members against non-members. However, it would be better to start the Union with control over matters that tend to cause wars.

Control of International Commerce. — If the nations can find a means of distributing all that they are capable of producing there could be an abundance for the whole human race. First we should have to control or abolish trade restrictions, such as national or international monopolies to restrict production, agreements to restrict shipments, quota laws which allow the importation of only limited amounts, the requirement of consent for the export or the import of commodities, and high protective tariffs that practically stop international trade in certain commodities.

An International Commerce Commission could be established by the Governing Council to encourage the mutual removal of



"LOOK, MOTHER, HOW WELL FED
THEY ARE."

trade restrictions by the member countries, and to enforce agreements when made.

Tariff Reductions. — As an example of the removal of trade restrictions, import duties might be mutually reduced an agreed per cent each year for a series of years. This would give industries which cannot be operated on an economic competitive basis an opportunity to withdraw from business without a heavy loss. In time there might be absolute free trade among all cooperating countries as among our forty-eight states. Trade is a two-way street; and if either way is blocked some will suffer; but if trade moves freely both ways the whole world can enjoy an economy of abundance instead of one of scarcity.

The rich natural resources of the United States have enabled us to pay higher wages and to enjoy a higher standard of living than most countries. If for these reasons we fear open-door competition with other countries, we might at least agree to exchange our surplus commodities for theirs.

Exchange of Surplus Commodities. — If the International Commerce Commission should act as an international clearing house for nations that agree to buy as much as they sell, the United States could dispose of its surplus cotton and wheat and quantities of other products that it can produce to advantage. The governments of the cooperating countries would have to participate in this plan, and the governments could gradually agree to buy more and more because every country would sell as much as it buys.

Would such an exchange of commodities flood the United States with foreign products and deprive American laborers of work? Not if we should consume an additional amount equal to the increased imports. To do this it might be necessary for our Government to build more two-way roads, more hospitals, more rapid transportation systems, and to clear our slums by the square mile. By so doing we could increase work — both by giving work to those who produce our increased exports, and to those who would put together the imported structural materials.



Courtesy New York Times

WILL PEACE REDUCE TRADE BARRIERS?

Would this increased exchange of commodities necessitate more governmental activities? Yes, it would; but so do great armaments and wars increase the activities of government — and with profit to no country.

Development of Trade in Backward Countries. — If the peoples of Asia alone earned an extra penny a day it would open a new market of 4 billion dollars a year for somebody.

At the end of this war China and India alone would buy unlimited machinery from us if they could finance it. Foreign-owned industries are not wanted, but native-managed and partly owned industries will be welcomed.

Governments must enter fields where private finance cannot enter without assuming risks that are too great to take with other people's money. But the Export-Import Bank might take it if we are willing to buy as many of their products as they buy of ours; or if all nations step up the exchange of their surplus products as outlined above.

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Unemployment Is a Basic Cause of War. — If people can buy raw products and sell their finished products and keep employed they are not likely to follow a Hitler, a Mussolini, or militarists like those of Japan.

A World Bank, comparable to our Federal Reserve System, might be set up by the Governing Council to stabilize international exchange, and to issue international currency comparable to our Federal Reserve Notes. It might lend surplus capital to governments for supervised internal development at low rates of interest, with repayment guaranteed by the Governing Council through the use of the International Police Force if necessary. If through this assistance backward countries become prosperous they would become large-scale purchasers of our products. We have more trade with the forty-odd million prosperous people of the British Isles than with the four hundred millions of undeveloped China.

An International Airplanes Commission should be given power to regulate international airplanes — or at least to promote international friendly agreements. International adjustments for ships that sail the air are much more difficult than for ships that sail the seas. The former can fly over countries and into their interiors; but the latter are restricted to definite routes that can easily be watched. If we limit armaments, there will be some nice distinctions to make between commercial planes and planes of military value.

Colonies. — The Governing Council might establish a Colonial Office to act in such matters as the following: (1) To encourage colonial powers mutually to practise the open-door trade policy; or (2) to encourage them to turn their colonies over to the Union to administer; and (3) to prepare these latter colonies for independence.

A Migration Commission could investigate surplus population problems, and encourage underpopulated countries to accept limited numbers of immigrants from overpopulated countries under conditions that would safeguard the receiving countries.

The Commission might also promote the exchange of op-

pressed minority groups from where they are to their native land. The League of Nations successfully moved Turks back to Turkey from Greece and Greeks back to Greece from Turkey. A commission of the League assisted the migrants in the exchange of their real estate or its sale at a fair price, and in the sale or movement of their personal property.

New areas now uninhabitable could be made to blossom if through this Commission the World Bank would finance great irrigation projects, drainage projects, or sanitation projects.

One cause of overpopulation will be removed when we get rid of aggressive dictators who encourage births on a "super-race" theory or a "cannon-fodder" basis in already overpopulated countries.

Freedom of Speech and a Broadcasting Chain. — The Governing Council of the Union should have freedom to circulate its literature in all member countries. It should also be free to broadcast over the stations of all member countries.

Other Organizations to Promote Justice and Humanity, like the International Labor Office and the Health Organization of the League of Nations, should be promoted by the Governing Council.

Financing the Union. — The Governing Council should have authority to assess each member country in proportion to its wealth for the expenses of the Union.

The only expensive branch of the Union would be the International Mobile Police; but if all the great nations become members of the Union the cost to each certainly would not be burdensome.

When the United States of America was formed each state supported its own military establishment; but when the United States army proved its ability to maintain order the State Militia, which the states were allowed to maintain, was neglected until the United States came to its support and made a National Guard of it. Likewise, if the International Union succeeds with its Mobile Police Force, the countries can mutually agree to reduce the size and expense of their local armed forces.

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QUESTIONS ON THE TEXT

1. When we win this war we may do one of what three things?
2. Can a world peace be planned better before the war ends or after it ends? Why?
3. If they can agree on a world policy, what nations could create an international union at the end of this war?
4. Of what should a Governing Council of an International Union consist?
5. How should the President of the Union be chosen? The judges of the International Court?
6. On what basis would you apportion an International Police Force among the cooperating countries?
7. Should there be a Mobile Police Force? If so, how would you constitute it?
8. Explain how international commerce might be promoted by (1) tariff reductions, (2) the exchange of surplus commodities, and (3) the development of trade in backward countries.
9. How might a World Bank be created, and what important function could it perform?
10. Why is an International Airplanes Commission needed?
11. What might a Colonial Office do for the welfare of colonies?
12. What important functions could be performed by a Migration Commission?
13. How could an International Union be financed?

PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Do you believe that thinking about the postwar world and postwar planning is — as a New York editorial put it — solemn guff by professors on “How to cook your rabbit before you catch it?”

Or do you agree that “Peace is not established by winning the war. Winning the war merely clears the path. We can only achieve it then if we clarify our purpose *now*?”

2. Do you agree with the following statements?

“We can have peace or revenge, but we can’t have both.”

Herbert Hoover

“We shall win the war, and in Victory we shall seek not revenge but the establishment of an international order in which the spirit of Christ shall rule the hearts of men and of nations.”

Franklin D. Roosevelt

“We of this generation, who are privileged to help make a better world for ourselves and for our posterity, should remember that, while we must not be visionary, we must have vision; so that peace should

not be punitive in spirit and should not be provincial or nationalistic or even continental in concept, but universal in scope and humanitarian in action."

Madame Chiang Kai-shek

3. When the war ends should we persecute the conquered or feed their starving families?

4. "The main barrier between East and West today is that the white man is not willing to give up his superiority and the colored man is no longer willing to endure his inferiority," says Pearl S. Buck. What will happen when our resources are gone and theirs are developed unless we gain their good will by a just and helpful cooperation?

5. Where do you belong in the following program?

Worldliness says, "When war comes, fight";

Unworldliness says, "No Christian must ever fight at all"; but

Better worldliness says, "International anarchy is a relic of barbarism and if Christian folk will seriously set themselves to organize the good of the world, it can be stopped."

Harry Emerson Fosdick

6. On an Army Day a group of students on a state university campus staged an anti-war demonstration. They marched garbed in imitation uniform parts, one blowing an old horn, and another beating time on a kettle. A few of the placards carried by the students said: "In time of peace prepare for war," "Generals die in bed," "Protect our munition makers," "A 200 per cent American — I hate everybody," "A profiteer is not without honor in his own country," "Less for education — More for eradication," and "The army builds men (to kill them)." Which is the better way to promote peace: by this satirical burlesque approach; or to work constructively for justice at home and abroad, for the development of international law, and for organizations that promote justice?

7. Until the United States of America was formed at the end of the Critical Period in American history each state considered itself independent. Tariffs were set up, and a man couldn't row a boatload of vegetables from the Jersey coast to New York without paying an import duty. Some states completely excluded the products of other neighboring states as reprisal measures, while the whole group seethed in a mass of poisonous hatred resulting from unstable money.

Today the world is in a condition similar to that of the thirteen states before they federated and provided stable money and free trade. Would an international union help countries as the Union helped our states?

8. Do you agree with the following?

"We help ourselves by making others strong."

Warren Pierson, President, Export-Import Bank

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX I

GLOSSARY

- Aggressor.** One who commits the first act of hostility or offense.
- Anarchism.** No rule — that is, no government in the usual sense. The theory that all government is evil. Philosophical anarchists would replace existing aristocratic or middle-class governments by organizations of labor.
- Anatolia.** Group of provinces in the peninsula of Asia Minor located between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean.
- Anschluss.** Union, such as the political union between the Austrian Republic and the German Reich.
- Aristocracy.** Government or rule by the best; a hereditary nobility, a class or order having prescribed rank and rights; or being pre-eminent by birth, culture, or wealth.
- Arrondissement.** The first subdivision of a French department.
- Autonomy.** The power or right of self-government; self-government or political independence of a city or a state.
- Babel.** A confusion of sounds, voices, or languages.
- Belligerent.** Hostile, carrying on war. When a colony or revolutionary party is engaged in waging war against its general government, it has no standing in international law until it is recognized as belligerent by neutral powers.
- Berserk.** Frenzied, enraged.
- Black Hand.** An Italian criminal society first appearing about 1868. Any of several secret societies.
- Bloc.** Combination of persons or interests, usually inharmonious, but temporarily drawn together in a common cause.
- Bolshevist.** Any radical; especially one who believes in the overthrow of capitalism by force.
- Bourgeois.** Abroad, a person of middle rank, as a merchant.
- Bourgeoisie.** Collection of bourgeois.
- Bund.** German for band, league, union, or alliance, such as the

German-American Bund which advocates Naziism in the United States.

Bundesrat. Literally, a federal council. The upper house of the former German Empire.

Capitalism. An economic system in which capital and capitalists play the important part. See page 252 of text.

Castes. Hereditary classes into which India is divided.

Centivo. One hundredth of a peso.

Chancellor. Usually the chief minister of state, such as the Chancellor of Germany. Prime minister.

Chauvinistic. Vainglorious or exaggerated patriotism.

Coalition. Temporary alliance of persons or governments for a joint action or purpose.

Commune. A political division, such as a commune in France, governed by a council and mayor. Similar to a New England town (or township).

Communism. A system of social organization in which goods are held in common. See page 250 of text.

Confiscate. Appropriate to public use. Cause a person to forfeit property to the state.

Conservative. Adhering to the existing order of things, opposed to change or progress in any liberal or radical way.

Consomols. A Communistic Russian Youth Organization consisting of young men and women between the ages of 16 and 23.

Constitution. An authoritative fundamental ordinance or enactment, a fundamental law or custom; for example, the written Constitution of the United States or the unwritten constitution of Great Britain.

Constitutional government. Government according to law, where the people are protected against arbitrary rule.

Contraband. Goods or merchandise the importation or exportation of which is forbidden; smuggled goods; for example, contraband of war, or materials not allowed to be shipped to a belligerent for use in war.

Co-operate. To act or operate jointly with another or others; to concur in action.

- Corporate System.** Management of industry through "corporations," or associations of employers and employees in each branch of industry (as in Italy).
- Corridor (Polish).** A narrow strip of land across territory previously foreign, joining a country to its seaport.
- Cortes.** Spanish legislature or parliament.
- Covenant.** A sacred agreement, like that binding the Scotch Covenanters and used for League of Nations constitution because of its religious significance.
- Czar.** King or emperor having absolute authority.
- Decree.** An authoritative order, such as an order issued by a dictator or government official in authority.
- Dedicate.** To devote or to allot.
- De facto.** Actually; in fact; in reality, as distinguished from *de jure*, which means legally.
- Demilitarized.** Where an army or fortifications are forbidden.
- Democracy.** Government where the people have supreme power. Term originally meant government directly by the people, but now includes a republic or representative government.
- Dictator.** One who exercises supreme authority.
- Dictatorial.** Pertaining or suited to a dictator; absolute.
- Dogma.** That which is held as an established opinion.
- Dynasty.** A succession of sovereigns in one family line.
- Economic.** Relating to management of business or resources.
- Ejido.** Spanish for common land. Used for co-operative farms in Mexico.
- Electorate.** Body of persons entitled to vote at an election.
- Eminent domain.** That superior dominion of the sovereign power over all the property within the state which authorizes it to appropriate all or any part thereof to a necessary public use, reasonable compensation being made.
- Emperor.** The sovereign or supreme monarch of an empire.
- Entente.** An understanding; an agreement based on conventions or declarations.
- Executive government.** One whose chief executive is chosen independently of the legislative branch, remains in office for

a definite term, and is more or less independent of the legislative branch while in office. A good example is the government of the United States.

Expropriate. To deprive of possession or proprietary rights, as the seizure of oil lands by the Mexican government.

Extradition. Return of fugitive from justice to the country where one is accused of having committed an offense.

Fascism. Views of the Italian organization originated by loyal patriots to oppose all radical elements in the country.

Franchise. A constitutional or statutory right or privilege, such as the right to vote, or the privilege of using public or private land or streets for installing public utilities.

Führer. German word for *leader*; for example, Führer Hitler.

Gerrymander. To alter unfairly. An unnatural or arbitrary redistricting of a state or local public area to the advantage of the party in power.

Grandee. Man of elevated rank, station, or eminence in Spain.

Hanseatic League. A league first constituted of merchants of various free German Baltic cities and towns dealing abroad, and later of the cities and towns themselves, whose objectives were primarily the securing of greater safety and privileges in trading and mutual defense.

Herr. German for Lord, Sir, Mister.

Heterogeneity. See Homogeneity.

Homogeneity. Of the same kind, or of elements of a like nature.

A homogeneous population is one of the same race, as in England. Heterogeneous means dissimilar, like the population of the United States.

Huns. Barbarous Asiatic horde led into Europe by Attila. Also figuratively used by Americans to describe Germans during the World War.

Ideograph. A picture or pictorial symbol as an original element of writing. A visual or written word or phrase conveying a particular idea.

Ideology. Greek for the science of ideas. Now used as the theory of government advocated by such dictators as Mussolini, Hitler, and Stalin.

Il Duce. Italian for The Leader.

Imperialism. The power or government of an emperor.

Imperialist. One who adheres to an emperor or his party, one who favors imperialism.

incorporated territory. That to which all parts of the constitution apply except those parts expressly applying to states. Alaska is an incorporated territory.

Indemnity. Compensation for damages.

Indigenous. Produced or living naturally in a country.

Intelligentsia. Highly educated leaders in advanced thought.

Isolationist. A person who favors or advocates isolation, one who favors keeping aloof politically from other countries.

Judgment. The pronouncing of an opinion or decision of a formal or authoritative nature: a court decision at law in a civil case as distinguished from a *decree* in equity.

Jurisdiction. The legal power, right, or authority to hear and determine a cause. A court's jurisdiction means the law that a court can interpret and enforce.

Jus gentium. The body of legal rules for the government of aliens subject to Rome. In the Middle Ages, the law of nations, or international law.

Kilometer. 1000 meters (3280.8 feet) or about $\frac{5}{8}$ of a mile.

Kulak. Russian for "big fist," or progressive farmer who opposed Communism.

Laborite. One who supports labor interests, such as a member of a labor party.

Laissez faire. The line of least resistance, noninterference with business by government.

Landsgemeinde. The primitive democratic assembly in certain of the cantons of Switzerland, composed of all the voters, and performing all legislative functions.

Liberal Party. A party of reform or progress.

Magyar. Dominant people of Hungary, who are of Mongolian origin.

Mahatma. Holy man.

Mañana. Spanish word for *tomorrow*. Commonly used as a polite way of postponing.

- Mandatory.** Pertaining to a command; hence obligatory.
- Maritime.** From Latin *mare*, pertaining to the sea.
- Mark.** German monetary unit worth 23.8 cents until the United States of America created a "sixty-cent" dollar, which made the mark worth about 40 cents.
- Materialistic.** Pertaining to things not spiritual; physical, tangible, corporeal.
- Mein Kampf.** German for *My Fight* or *My Struggle*, the name of Hitler's book (1924) giving his political ideas.
- Messiah.** An expected savior or deliverer, like Christ.
- Mestizo.** A person of mixed Spanish and Indian blood.
- Militarism.** The policy of aggressive military preparedness. Predominance of the military class or prevalence of their ideals.
- Monarchy.** Sovereignty of a single person — an absolute monarchy having no constitutional limits. A constitutional monarchy has limits.
- Monogamy.** Marriage with but one person at a time.
- Most-favored-nation clause.** Clause written into international trade or tariff agreements promising privileges of trade equal to the most favorable granted to any country.
- Munitions.** Ammunition and all necessary war material.
- Nationalism.** Devotion to, or advocacy of, national interests or national unity and independence. Zealous adherence to one's own nation or to its principles. Patriotism.
- Naziism.** The belief in the National Socialist German Labor Party.
- Neutral.** Unbiased; indifferent. A country is neutral which gives assistance to neither side in a war.
- Octobrists.** A Communistic Russian Youth Organization of boys and girls between 8 and 10 years of age.
- Ostracize.** To vote out, expel, have no association with.
- Pacifism.** Opposition to war or to the use of military force for any purpose. An attitude of mind opposing all wars. Advocating settlement of international disputes entirely by arbitration.
- Pan-American.** Pan is the Greek for *all*, hence Pan-American

means All-American. The Pan American Union includes the 21 American republics.

Pan American Union. An organization of 21 countries of North and South America for the promotion of friendly relations between these countries. Headquarters are at the Pan American Union Building at Washington.

Parisian. Of or pertaining to Paris, resembling Paris, a native or inhabitant of Paris, France.

Parliamentary government. One in which the executive branch is subordinate to the legislative branch. For example, in England the Parliament is sovereign.

Pasha. An honorary title for high Turkish officials.

Paternalism. *Pater* is the Latin for *father*. Hence paternalism is government of a character similar to that existing in the case of a father and his dependent children.

Peer. An equal before the law; a nobleman in the United Kingdom, a duke, marquis, earl, viscount, baron.

Peerage. The body of peers; the nobility.

Peon. One who travels on foot, a member of the laboring class; a person bound to service for payment of a debt.

Peseta. A former Spanish silver coin $\frac{1}{4}$ peso duro, or dollar. A Spanish gold monetary unit in use since 1868.

Peso. A dollar — a Spanish or Mexican unit of value corresponding to our dollar. In Mexico it has varied in value from about $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ of the purchasing power of our dollar.

Pioneers. A Communistic Russian Youth Organization consisting of boys and girls between 10 and 16 years of age.

Plutocracy. Government by the wealthy; the rule or dominion of wealth or of the rich.

Podesta. In Italy, any of several public officers; for example, the mayor of a commune.

Political. Pertaining to the conduct of government.

Prefect. The head of a French department.

Premier. First in rank or importance; chief; head of the cabinet in a parliamentary government; prime minister.

Prime minister. The first or chief minister of a ruler or state; the head of the cabinet in a parliamentary government.

Primogeniture. An exclusive right of inheritance belonging to the first-born — usually the eldest son, as in England.

Proletarians. The poorest and lowest classes in a community or state; persons with no property and only the meanest or most irregular employment.

Propaganda. Any organized or concerted group effort, or movement, to spread a particular doctrine or system of doctrines or principles.

Propagandize. To scatter propaganda.

Proportional representation. Representation according to the number of party votes cast, thus allowing minority parties to be represented.

Protectorate. Government by a protector or a country that directs certain policies of the protectorate. From the Spanish-American War until Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration, Cuba was a protectorate of the United States.

Protocol. A preliminary treaty — an unsigned treaty. Sometimes used in the same sense as treaty.

Puppet. One acting as another wills; a tool.

Putsch (pööch). A petty rebellion or popular uprising.

Quid pro quo. Something received in exchange for a thing or act of service.

Ratify. To approve, to make valid or legally operative. A two-thirds vote of our Senate is required to ratify treaties.

Reactionary. One who favors reaction, one who seeks to undo political progress.

Reciprocity. Mutual co-operation, as when two countries make comparable reductions in their tariff rates.

"Reds." Communists, radicals.

Régime. System of government, or of prevailing social system; for example, the Communist régime.

Reich. German word for *empire* or *realm*. Under Hitler the government is called the Third Reich.

Reichstag. Popularly elected house in Germany under the Empire and the Republic. Now the only house, and without real legislative power; sort of rubber stamp.

- Representative government.** Government by persons representing the people.
- Republican government.** Form of government in which the sovereign power resides in a certain body of the people and is exercised by representatives elected by and responsible to them.
- Semitic.** A member of the Caucasian race now chiefly represented by the Jews and Arabs.
- Sino.** Greek word for Chinese. A combining form used to denote Chinese: (1) in nouns as in Sinology; (2) adjectives as in Sino-American, Sino-Japanese, etc.
- Socialism.** A political and economic theory of social organization based on collective or governmental ownership and democratic management of the essential means for the production and distribution of goods. It aims to replace competition by co-operation, and profit-seeking by social service.
- Soviet.** Russian for *council*.
- State.** An organized body of people living within a limited territory and having power to make and enforce laws without the consent of any higher authority.
- Syndicalists.** Those who plan or practice trade-union action which aims by the general strike and direct action to establish control through organizations of workers over the means and progress of production.
- Tael.** A Chinese silver coin representing a standard of value as our dollar represents the United States standard of value.
- Tartars.** People of Tartary who had their origin in Mongolia or Turkey. Figuratively means persons of violent or irritable temper; also shrews.
- Theorists.** Those who theorize; persons given to speculative thought.
- Totalitarianism.** Government supremacy in all matters. Subordination of the individual to the state.
- Treaty.** An agreement or arrangement made by negotiation or diplomacy; an agreement or contract between states.

Tuchun. In China, the title of the military governor of a province; a war lord.

Ukase. Russian for edict or order of the government.

Unilateral. One-sided, such as an agreement binding only one country.

Unitary government. Having the character of a unit; not divided.

Visa. An endorsement made on a passport by the proper authority, denoting that it has been examined and that the bearer is permitted to proceed.

“Whites.” Armies of the old régime in Russia who fought against the Bolsheviki during the Russian Revolution.

Zambo. A person of mixed Indian and Negro blood.

APPENDIX II

SUGGESTED TITLES FOR STUDENT EDITORIALS

1. The radio and airplane make a neighborhood of the world.
2. Our "Good Neighbor" policy is paying dividends.
3. The use of the radio for influencing public opinion.
4. Need of a sea-level Panama Canal.
5. Why the Pan American Highway?
6. The Monroe Doctrine becomes the American Doctrine.
7. A three-thousand mile border without a fort.
8. English-speaking union versus union of democracies.
9. World federation versus federation of democracies.
10. Eire and the World War.
11. Should India be free?
12. The Far East refuses to continue inferior.
13. Switzerland's position in the World War.
14. The difficult position of the French.
15. Can we soften Germany by radio?
16. How many political parties should a country have?
17. Is a United States of Europe desirable and feasible?
18. Russia at the peace table.
19. The Zionist State.
20. What causes wars?
21. Is the League of Nations dead?
22. Need of an international police force.
23. Need of trade opportunities.
24. World Union a proposed solution.
25. Having a vision without being visionary.
26. Attaining the Four Freedoms.
27. New global geography.
28. Winning the war and the peace.

APPENDIX III

The FOUR FREEDOMS

MESSAGE TO THE 77TH CONGRESS • • • JANUARY 6, 1941

IN the future days, which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms.

The first is freedom of speech and expression—everywhere in the world.

The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—everywhere in the world.

The third is freedom from want—which translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants—everywhere in the world.

The fourth is freedom from fear—which translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor—anywhere.

Franklin D. Roosevelt



APPENDIX IV

THE ATLANTIC CHARTER

The President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being met together, deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world.

FIRST, their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other ;

SECOND, they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned ;

THIRD, they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live ; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them ;

FOURTH, they will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity ;

FIFTH, they desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labor standards, economic adjustment, and social security ;

SIXTH, after the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want ;

SEVENTH, such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance ;

EIGHTH, they believe that all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea, or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments.

APPENDIX V

DECLARATION OF UNITED NATIONS

A joint declaration by the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, China, Australia, Belgium, Canada, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czecho-Slovakia, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Poland, South Africa, Yugoslavia.

The governments signatory hereto,

Having subscribed to a common program of purposes and principles embodied in the joint declaration of the President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland dated August 14, 1941, known as the Atlantic Charter, being convinced that complete victory over their enemies is essential to defend life, liberty, independence, and religious freedom, and to preserve human rights and justice in their own lands as well as in other lands, and that they are now engaged in a common struggle against savage and brutal forces seeking to subjugate the world, declare:

(1) Each government pledges itself to employ its full resources, military or economic, against those members of the Tri-partite Pact and its adherents with which such government is at war.

(2) Each government pledges itself to co-operate with the governments signatory hereto and not to make a separate armistice or peace with the enemies.

The foregoing declaration may be adhered to by other nations which are, or which may be, rendering material assistance and contributions in the struggle for victory over Hitlerism.

Done at Washington, January First, 1942.



“PEACE ON EARTH”

Hvepsen, Oslo

What our streets would look like if individuals behaved like nations.

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